A

GENERAL HISTORY

OF THE

LIVES, TRIALS, and EXECUTIONS

OF ALL THE

Royal and Noble Perſonages,

That have ſuffered in Great-Britain and Ireland for

HIGH TREASON, or other CRIMES,

FROM THE

Acceſſion of HENRY VIII. to the Throne of England, down to the preſent Time;

With a CIRCUMSTANTIAL NARRATIVE of

Their BEHAVIOUR during CONFINEMENT,

AND

AT THE PLACE OF EXECUTION:

To which is added,

A PARTICULAR ACCOUNT of the REBELLIONS in England, Scotland and Ireland, for the two laſt Centuries.

Compiled, with the utmoſt Care and Accuracy, from the

Beſt Hiſtories, and Moſt Authentic Memoirs,

By DELAHAY GORDON, Eſq.

And ILLUSTRATED with COPPER-PLATES,

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A

General Hiſtory, &c.

THE

Hiſtory of the Life and Death

OF

Sir WALTER RALEGH.

THOUGH abundance of ſolid particulars are naturally ſunk in the rapid current of time, while many far leſs ſubſtantial are floating upon the ſurface, to the hand of every ordinary memorialiſt: and, though ſome ſhining circumſtances, in the proſperous part of ſir Walter Ralegh's life have been darkened through envy; as others, in the unfortunate period, by the age in which he lived; nevertheleſs, his ſingle life may perhaps be found more fruitful of memorable incidents, than many hiſtories of entire ages; inſomuch, as I may be more ap-

prehenſive, with a late collector of his memoirs, "That the deſcribing a perſon of ſo diffuſive a "praiſe, ſo equally great in ſo many different parts "of life, will be like attempting a landſkip from "a hill, where the multiplicity and extent of the "proſpects may rather diſtract the mind, than "direct it; and call for judgment to reſtrain the "fancy, which is apt to run riot, when employed "upon too many objects." Many guides may indeed appear to lead us through this wilderneſs; but, numerous as the authors are who mention him, they contain but fragments of his ſtory; divers whereof, hitherto widely diſperſed, have eſcaped not only our general hiſtorians, but the many compilers of diſtinct pieces on his actions. Even the moderns, who have treated of him with impartiality, have yet been deficient in point of induſtry, ſo as to prove no leſs injurious to his merits, than ſome who in his own age have conſpired to depreciate them. Hence the generality, having been too ſuperficial and undigeſted; having neither regarded due choice and order of matter, proportion in the parts, or connexion of the whole; nor yet diſcharged themſelves by ſuch references to proper vouchers, as might ſatisfy thoſe readers it is my ambition to pleaſe; I have eſteemed the number of ſuch writers, no diſcouragement to the revival of his ſtory.

And firſt, for the name of Ralegh, otherwiſe written Rale and Ralega, in ſome old deeds I have formerly ſeen; it is certainly of great antiquity in this kingdom; ſince there are ſome villages and towns in the weſt, as well as other parts, ſo called; which might at firſt receive their denominations from ſome, as well as afterwards give it to others, who were natives or poſſeſſors thereof: and, ſince we are credibly informed, that none of thoſe diſtricts

ſtricts belonged antiently to noble lords of the ſame name; as alſo that ſeveral of them were ſo called from the very family we are to ſpeak of: and, as the Raleghs of Devonſhire will appear to have flouriſhed there before the conqueſt, they might be the progenitors of thoſe in other countries; as is expreſly intimated out of the records, that they were of thoſe in Warwickſhire: but, as we are told of no leſs than five knights of this name, at one time differently ſituated in that weſtern country beforementioned; and that there were three great families ſo named alſo there, contemporary with ſir Walter Ralegh's, who bore arms different from thoſe of his paternal coat; we may conclude, they were not all of one lineage; and, at the ſame time, that it is owing to the eminency of this great man, that a diſtinction of the ſeveral houſes, and his in particular, when all but his were in a manner extinct, has been ſo elaborately endeavoured by the antiquaries and genealogiſts of his own time.

As to the family of ſir Walter Ralegh therefore in particular, it is generally agreed on, that Smalridge, in the pariſh of Axminſter, in the county of Devon, was one of their moſt ancient ſeats: but ſir William Pole, who is ſaid to have been one of the greateſt ſearchers into the antiquities of that country, has been ſingularly ſhort in the time of their firſt ſettling there. However, if we ſhould agree with him upon that perſon for ſir Walter Ralegh's direct anceſtor, who firſt removed thither out of Nettlecomb Ralegh, in Somerſetſhire, in the reign of king Henry III. from whom there is a ſucceſſive deſcent of thoſe ſix knights, ſir Wimond, ſir Hugh, ſir John, ſir Peter, and two ſir Johns more; beſides others, who were either of

the ſame degree themſelves, or married into families diſtinguiſhed with it, even down to Wimond, the grandfather of ſir Walter Ralegh. I know not but it may be alſo allowed, that the honours of this pedigree were ſufficient to have been boaſted of by ſome of his traducers: for though, in the eye of heraldry, many titles are accounted more noble than knighthood; though native and patrimonial dignities, or ſuch as deſcend neceſſarily from father to ſon, may, in the eye of the common lineal claimant, appear moſt legitimate; and ſuch as are venal, be eſteemed in that of the wealthy moſt valuable; yet thoſe which are perſonal, the individual acquiſition, or recompence of every man's proper merit, will, in the eye of reaſon, be held moſt honourable.

John Hooker, a famous antiquary, in one of his performances, gives us to underſtand, that Smalridge was in poſſeſſion of the Raleghs before the Norman conqueſt; and, that one of the family, being taken priſoner by the Gauls, did, for his deliverance upon St. Leonard's day, build, at his return home, a chapel there, conſecrated to that ſaint; and therein, as a grateful monument, hung up his target: the records of which foundation are ſaid to have been given by a prieſt of Axminſter to ſir Walter Ralegh, as their moſt rightful owner.

So much for the antiquity of the family in Devonſhire; and, as for its derivation, the ſaid Hooker, even in a printed dedication to ſir Walter Ralegh, as I hinted, (which he repeatedly confirms in the aforeſaid performance) not only avouches his alliance to the Courtenays, earls of Devon, and other illuſtrious houſes; but traces the ſtream of conſanguinity up to the kings of England, where he ſays,

ſays, That one of his anceſtors, in the directeſt line, ſir John de Ralegh of Fardel (another ſeat of their ancient inheritance in the pariſh of Cornwood, eight miles eaſt of Plymouth) eſpouſed the daughter of ſir Roger D'Amerei, who married Elizabeth, daughter of Gilbert, earl of Glouceſter, by Joan D'Acres, daughter of king Edward I. which Gilbert was deſcended of Robert, earl of Glouceſter, ſon to king Henry I. ſo goes up to the Conqueror; and farther adds, That, in like manner, he may be derived by his mother alſo out of the ſame houſe. But, ſince theſe two authors, the likelieſt we have in print to have confirmed us in the truth of this matter, vary thus from each other; ſince ſir William Pole thought it rather another family of the Raleghs, which was thus royally deſcended; ſince alſo five or ſix ancient pedigrees of this family, which I have ſeen in manuſcript, by the heraldical viſitors, and antiquaries of thoſe weſtern parts, alſo differ, not only from Hooker, but, in ſeveral points, both from ſir William Pole, and from one another; and, laſtly, ſince it will be conſidered, that I have not undertaken to account for the whole race of the Raleghs, but only one ſingle perſon of the name, here let the truth, as to theſe remote anceſtors or alliances, hover for me; for I am not moved on the wings of conjecture, to make myſelf a party with any of theſe antiquaries, nor ſhall endeavour to compromiſe the difference between them, unleſs ſuch prevailing authorities had occurred, as would enable me to do it with certainty. Beſides, as thoſe whoſe virtues have adorned them with a ſufficiency of perſonal honours, are ever leaſt anxious about ſuch as are relative; ſo it might well argue but little weight in the judgment of an hiſtorian, to ſhew

himſelf contentious about theſe feathers for his worthy; eſpecially ſuch a one, as ſhall be found to have thought ſo juſtly light of them himſelf.

However, as all accounts allow him a very honourable extract, let us prefer which we pleaſe. The freedom ſome great courtiers took in calling him Jack, and Upſtart, upon his advancement to queen Elizabeth's favour, is thought to have ſomewhat reflected rather on themſelves, in ſuffering their ſprightly parts to take ſuch advantage of their noble principles.

One of theſe ſarcaſms I find recorded by the lord Bacon, in his little book of Apophthegms, where he ſays, "That, when queen Elizabeth had advanced Ralegh, ſhe was one day playing on the virginals, and my lord of Oxford with another nobleman ſtood by; when it happened that the ledge before the jacks was taken away, ſo that they were ſeen; whereupon that lord and the other nobleman ſmiled and whiſpered a little: the queen marked it, and would needs know, what was the matter. His lordſhip anſwered, They laughed to ſee, that when Jacks went up, heads went down."

Though the application of this reflection, particularly to Ralegh, if ſuch was made, is diſputable, notwithſtanding lord Bacon's alluſion; yet it is plain, that ſir Robert Naunton, who was ſecretary of ſtate at the time of Ralegh's death, and whoſe obſervations on that queen's death were written, though not printed, before theſe Apophthegms, thought alſo that it was made upon Ralegh; for he has ſaid, with relation to this jeſt by that witty earl, "We all know it favours more of emulation and his humour than of truth; it being a certain note of the times, that the queen, in her choice, never

" never took into her favour, a mere new man, nor " a mechanic."

But it is believed, ſir Walter Ralegh himſelf was afterwards pretty even with his quality-critics; where he ſo ſolidly expoſes the emptineſs of merit, nay, the real detriment to it, in poſterity's being entitled to the rewards of their anceſtor's virtues, by hereditary honours, ſucceſſion of blood, and nobility in parchment; thoſe only being truly noble, who, by worthy acts, have rendered themſelves moſt notable.

Walter Ralegh was the ſon of Walter Ralegh, eſq. of Fardel, who being thrice married, had by his firſt wife, Joan, daughter of John Drake, of Exmouth, in Devon, eſq. two ſons; one named George, and the other John; which laſt married Anne, the daughter of ſir Bartholomew Forteſcue, of Filley, in Devon, and relict of ------- Gaicrick, of Ford. His ſecond wife was daughter of one Darell of London; by whom he had a daughter, named Mary, who was married to Hugh Snedale, of Hilling, in Cornwall, eſq. His third wife was Catharine, daughter of ſir Philip Champernon, of Modbury, and relict of Otho Gilbert, of Compton, in Devon, eſq.

He had by this laſt venture, his third ſon, Carew, afterwards knighted, and of Wiltſhire, who married Dorothy, daughter of ſir William Wroughton. and relict of ſir John Thynn; by whom he had iſſue; and, laſtly, his fourth ſon, named Walter, the ſubject of the enſuing ſtory; who was thereby the uterine brother of three eminent knights; ſir John, ſir Humphry, and ſir Adrian Gilbert. By this laſt wife, Mr. Ralegh had only one daughter, named Margaret; who was married firſt to --------- Radford, of Mount Radford, in Devon, clerk of the peace; and afterwards to ------- Hull,

---------- Hull, of Larkebre, eſq. in St. Leonard's pariſh, Exeter.

The family was, indeed, at this time, much declined from its former ſplendor of fame and affluence of fortune; for the eſtate of Smalridge, which remained in the name of Ralegh to the time of king Henry VIII. was then ſold by ſir Walter's grandfather, Wimond, to John, the father of ſir John Gilbert, of Compton; but I cannot find it reduced to that low ebb, in the latter reſpect, which ſome have intimated; for Fardel remained ſtill in their poſſeſſion; which, after the death of ſir Walter's father, fell to the eldeſt ſon George: and there were, beſides, Widdycomb Ralegh, and Coliton-Ralegh in their poſſeſſion; the former of which was ſold, by ſir Walter's eldeſt brother, ſir Carew Ralegh, to George, the natural ſon of George aforeſaid; and the latter was ſold by ſir Walter himſelf, to Richard Martin, or his father of Exeter. But neither of theſe places claim the honour of his birth.

For his father, having the remainder of a fourſcore years leaſe, in a pleaſant farm called Hayes, ſituate in the pariſh of Budley, in that part of Devonſhire bordering eaſtward upon the ſea, near where the Ottery, or river of Otters, diſcharges itſelf into the Britiſh Channel; and reſiding upon the ſaid farm during the time of his laſt marriage; this was the birth-place of ſir Walter Ralegh; and it is accordingly diſtinguiſhed for nothing more remarkable by topographical writers to this day. After the expiration of that leaſe, Ralegh applied, but unſucceſsfully, to Mr. Duke of Otterton, to whom the eſtate devolved, to ſell it him; as appears by Ralegh's letter to him; wherein he ſays, "That, for the natural diſpoſition he had to the "place, being born in that houſe, he had rather

"ſeat

" ſeat himſelf there than any where elſe." From whence, it ſeems, that what ſome, by another Devonian antiquary, ſaid to have reported, and himſelf appears only to have recorded; as if ſir Walter Ralegh was born in the city of Exeter, and in the houſe adjoining to the palace gate, has no authority, and, perhaps, had not ſo much as rumour to countenance it.

As to the time of his birth, I find the computation has been made from Camden's account of his age, that he was born in the year 1552: and herewith correſponds an obſervation I have found in an aſtrological author, who, fixing his birth in the ſixth year of king Edward VI. which anſwers to the year of our lord aforeſaid, calls it, " A year " remarkable in our chronicles; firſt, for that " ſtrange ſhoal of the largeſt ſea fiſhes, which quit- " ting their native waters for freſh and untaſted " ſtreams, wandered up the Thames ſo high, till " the river no longer retained any brackiſhneſs; " and, ſecondly, that it is thought to have been " ſomewhat ſtained in our annals with the blood of " our noble Seymour, duke of Somerſet: events," ſays he, " ſurpriſingly analogous, both to the life " of this adventurous voyager, ſir Walter Ralegh, " whoſe delight was in the hazardous diſcovery of " unfrequented coaſts; and alſo to his unfortunate " death."

That his younger years were ſeaſoned at the univerſity of Oxford, we may gather from good authorities; as Hooker aforeſaid, lord Bacon, and Anthony Wood; which laſt ſays, " He became " commoner of Oriel-college, in or about the " year 1568, when his kinſman C. Champernon " ſtudied there; and that his natural parts being " ſtrangely advanced by academical learning, un-

" der

" der the care of an excellent tutor, he became " the ornament of the juniors; and was worthily " eſteemed both a proficient in oratory and philo- " phy."

But, in that he came ſo late thither as this author mentions, and ſtayed ſo long there as three years, is a miſtake; for he will preſently appear two years before that time amounts to, in the wars abroad.

What time then can we ſpare for his reſidence at Chriſt-church college alſo, in that univerſity; whereof Dr. Fuller would needs have him a member, either before or after he was of Oriel; unleſs we could find, as I fear we ſhall not, that he returned from the ſchool of Mars to that of the Muſes?

Little more can we expect to have been obſerved of this remote part of his life; and yet ſomething more in it has been preſerved by lord Bacon aforeſaid, who had the judgment to foreſee, that every little circumſtance would be acceptable of a man, whoſe fortunes and misfortunes had rendered him ſo memorable: and, indeed, it has been repreſented to me, as a matter of no ſmall honour to ſir Walter Ralegh, that a caſual expreſſion of his, in his immature and greeneſt years, ſhould prefer itſelf to the commemoration of that great philoſopher, in his ſageſt and moſt advanced age. But, as he had obſerved, on the nature of things, that great objects may be diſcerned through a little crevice; ſo he knew, with reſpect to the nature of men, that a great diſcovery of genius may be made through a ſmall and ſudden repartee; and hence might he be moved to remember, " That " while Ralegh was a ſcholar at Oxford, there was " a cowardly fellow, who happened to be a very " good archer; but having been groſly abuſed

" by

" by another, he bemoaned himſelf to Ralegh, " and aſked his advice, what he ſhould do to re- " pair the wrong that had been offered him? Ra- " legh anſwered, Why, challenge him —— at a " match of ſhooting."

How long he continued at the univerſity is uncertain. For, though ſir Robert Naunton, and poſſibly from him moſt other writers of Ralegh's life, have alſo conſigned him to the ſtudy of the law, on his leaving Oxford; there is a late author, who believes it a miſtake ſo obvious, that no merit can reaſonably be aſſumed from correcting it; for ſir Walter, at his arraignment, in a reply to the attorney-general, lays a heavy imprecation upon himſelf, " If ever he read a word of law or " ſtatutes before he was a priſoner in the Tower. So that if this Ralegh was the author of that poem before-mentioned, and of the Middle Temple in that year it was written, which we ſhall preſently arrive at, we muſt yet take care to keep the lawyer clear from the Templar.

For, we are expreſly told by Hooker, " That " after Ralegh had laid a good ground to build " his actions on at the univerſity, he travelled into " France:" and this is confirmed by Camden, according to whoſe account, Ralegh could not be, at his departure, above ſeventeen years of age; and, by the occaſion of his firſt going over, it will appear, that a military courſe of life firſt fledged his fame. For, as it has been rightly obſerved, Ralegh had the advantage of a ſtirring age to encourage and exerciſe his active genius, throughout the whole ſeries of his firſt engagements.

France was now embroiled in civil wars; England ſoon after, to divert a menaced danger from the encroaching power of Spain, lent aſſiſtance to

the then diſtreſſed and humble States of Holland; Spain, by a political repriſal, raiſed ſtubborn inſurrections in Ireland; and the pope, to make the rebellion more permanent, and more plauſible, religiouſly pretended that kingdom was a perquiſite of St. Peter.

But firſt of France: and here we need not recur to the original of thoſe commotions there; need not trace the Hugonots to their fountain-head; apologiſe for their oppoſitions againſt the Guiſards; labour to reconcile queen Elizabeth's defence of another prince's oppreſſed ſubjects, to the laws of nations, when imminent danger, by ſuch oppreſſions, threatened her own; nor, laſtly, aggravate her motives againſt France in particular, from their late violation of covenants, relating to the rendition of Calais; theſe topics being to be ſought where they have already been, and it is more proper they ſhould be directly diſcuſſed. Sufficient therefore it will be, to obſerve in this place, out of Camden's Annals, that though the queen had her hands full of diſorders at home, yet ſhe was not wanting, either in commiſeration or relief to the perſecuted Proteſtants of France; and not only exhorted other princes of the ſame perſuaſion to lend their hands to the common cauſe, but ſupplied the queen of Navarre with money and men to ſupport it; permitting Henry Champernon, a relation by marriage of the earl of Montgomery, to march with a ſelect troop of a hundred gentlemen volunteers, well mounted and accoutred, into France; who bore in their ſtandard this motto: "Finem det mihi virtus: Let "valour decide the cauſe."

In the liſt of theſe volunteers, was Philip Butſhed, with Francis Barcley, men afterwards of note in their time; and this Walter Ralegh, the moſt noted

noted of all, then a very young man, and firſt beginning to puſh his fortune in the world; "Ad-"modum adoleſcens, jam primum ſatis monſtra-"tus," ſays our above cited Annaliſt.

The greateſt hiſtorian in France of thoſe times, tells us, this ſelect troop of horſe arrived in the French camp, on the fifth of October 1569, and that they were honourably received by the queen of Navarre and the princes. But what ſervices diſtinctly they performed in France, or how long they continued there, neither the writers of that country, nor of our own, have, I think, given full ſatisfaction. This conſequence we draw from ſome circumſtances in the latter part of Ralegh's life, that he eſtabliſhed himſelf a conſiderable reputation while he was in that kingdom; and, from Hooker, "That he ſpent good part of his youth "in wars and martial ſervices there:" agreeable to which, is that paſſage in another author, who alſo ſeems to have known him; where, ſpeaking of his education, he adds, "It was not part, but "wholly gentleman, wholly ſoldier."

Some French hiſtorians tell us, that what with the ſupplies of queen Elizabeth, who ſent the French proteſtants a hundred thouſand angels, beſides ſome pieces of cannon and ammunition; and, what with the aids of their other allies, the proteſtant army, which took the field under admiral Coligny and the prince of Condé, and encamped about Limoſin, this year of Ralegh's going over, being in the beginning of their third civil war, amounted to no leſs than twenty-five thouſand fighting men; when the king's army under his brother the duke of Anjou, being encamped at Rochlabeille, amounted to above thirty thouſand. But others reckon the proteſtant army of equal number; and obſerve, though their men and

horſe died at Limoſin in great numbers for want of food and forage; and, though a great reward was offered for the admiral, dead or alive, that it only added fuel to the fire: for, what terror could it ſtrike, ſays my author, into perſons who headed an army of thirty thouſand men, and ventured their lives with the utmoſt bravery on all occaſions? As for the the inſincere league, or union of France and England, by the pretended marriage, which appears to have been negociated two years after between the two crowns; it ſeems not to have withdrawn theſe Engliſh auxiliaries, at leaſt not him along with them; becauſe Ralegh's continuance in France would then fall ſhort of Hooker's implication aforeſaid.

But, as we ſhall diſcover him to have been in that kingdom beyond the death of king Charles IX, which, from Ralegh's entrance thither, is about five years; and that, in this compaſs of time, near thirty battles, ſieges, overthrows, treaties, and capitulations, on one ſide or other, may be enumerated; it is manifeſt, that our young volunteer was hazardouſly engaged in ſome, if not ſeveral of them.

He had afterwards occaſion to mention, upon his obſerving here, the ill conſequence of having commanders in equal power, whom it is almoſt impoſſible to chuſe of equal courage and diſcretion.

In another place Ralegh ſpeaks of a ſtratagem which he and his company uſed with ſucceſs at Languedoc, where the enemy had fortified themſelves in certain caves which had but one narrow entrance cut in the mid-way of the high rocks; and "which," ſays he, "we knew not how to "enter by any ladder or engine; till at laſt, by "certain bundles of lighted ſtraw, let down by

"an

" an iron chain with a weighty ſtone in the midſt, " thoſe that defended it were ſo ſmothered, that " they ſurrendered themſelves, with their plate, " money, and other goods therein hidden; or " they muſt have died like bees that are ſmoaked " out of their hives."

And, in another place, he gratefully takes notice of a deliverance he had in theſe wars. It is where, reaſoning upon the manner and opportunities of retreats in battle, he firſt gives an example of its being leſs honour to retire in the dark, than to be ruined in the light, in the ſentiment of M. de la Noue, upon the retreat made juſt before the battle of Moncountour. " For," ſays that Frenchman, " ſtaying upon our reputa- " tion in ſhew, not to diſlodge by night; we loſt " our reputation indeed, in diſlodging by day; " whereby we were forced to fight upon our diſ- " advantage, and to our ruin:" " Yet, (ſays Ralegh) " did that worthy gentleman, count Lodo- " wic of Naſſau, brother to the late famous prince " of Orange, make the retreat at Moncountour " with ſo great reſolution, as he ſaved one half of " the proteſtant army, then broken and diſband- " ed; of which myſelf was an eye-witneſs, and " was one of them who had cauſe to thank him " for it."

But, by what means Ralegh eſcaped that comprehenſive deſtruction, which broke out in the third year of this turbulent period, unleſs with young Sidney (afterwards a knight of great renown for his accompliſhments, and the patronage of other men's, then upon his travels in France) he took ſanctuary in the embaſſador Walſingham's houſe, we deſpair, at this diſtance, of learning: for then the cruel and inſidious young king aforeſaid, inflamed by the queen-mother, and her fire-

brands of religion, perpetrated that horrible maſſacre of all the proteſtants in the capital city, and other parts of his realm; the invitation to which was the nuptials of his ſiſter: the ſignal to which was the bell they rung to their pious mattins; and, in the execution whereof, among many thouſands, fell the great admiral aforeſaid, by the procurement of his implacable enemy the duke of Guiſe.

And, though the comet, which ſoon after glared out of the face of heaven upon theſe bloody actors for many months together, ſeems to have wrought little remorſe or contrition in them during life; yet is their untimely and violent end, with the extirpation of the very line of Valois, ſomewhat remarkable; eſpecially that of this king himſelf, whoſe early delight in hunting of wild beaſts, thus improved to the ſlaughter of his fellow-creatures; till in leſs than two years after that inhuman maſſacre, his inſatiable thirſt of his people's blood, was quenched by an irreſiſtible extravaſation of his own.

Now, that Ralegh was, till the death of that king, and even longer, in France, we may be fully convinced, from the further light I have fortunately met with, in an eminent author of his own time. For, Mr. Richard Hackluyt, in his moſt excellent collection of voyages, dedicating his tranſlation of a French adventure therein to ſir Walter Ralegh, tells him, That "calling to mind you "had ſpent more years in France than I, and un-"derſtand the French better than myſelf; I per-"ceived you approved my endeavour, not for any "private eaſe, but for the ſpecial care you had of "thoſe to be employed in your own like enter-"prize." And how long Hackluyt had been in France,

France, appears in his dedication to ſir Francis Walſingham of his firſt edition of thoſe voyages; where he takes the occaſion to tell his patrons, that himſelf had been five years in that kingdom; ſo that Ralegh muſt have been at leaſt ſix years there.

And this will lead us near the time we are to look for him in London, if we take for our guide in the chronology of Ralegh's life, that copy of verſes before-mentioned, which Anthony Wood took for his, in relation to Ralegh's profeſſion. Theſe verſes I have found to be a commendatory poem of three ſtanzas, by Walter Rawely of the Middle-Temple, as he is there written; and printed among others, before a ſatire called, The Steel Glaſs, publiſhed in 1576, by a learned and ingenious poet of repute in thoſe days, George Gaſcoigne, eſq.

I have had the opportunity of ſeeing ſome original manuſcripts of ſir Walter Ralegh's writing, and his name written ſeveral times by his own hand, I ſhall not cavil at the pſeudography thereof before the ſaid printed copy of verſes; becauſe I could inſtance greater errors of the like nature, which yet have not excluded authors from the reputation of their compoſitions; but more eſpecially, becauſe there are ſome glimmering circumſtances which render the writing of that piece by this our author probable to me; as namely, a kind of familiar dependency which that Gaſcoigne had upon the lord Gray of Wilton; as in the dedication of this, and ſome other of his works, is evident; under which nobleman, Ralegh will ſoon after appear to have ſerved in the wars of Ireland.

Again, Gaſcoigne had led a life ſomewhat like Ralegh in foreign travel and military ſervices.

Then it is to be noted, Gaſcoigne uſed the very motto under his picture, prefixed to that ſatire before-mentioned; which, after his death, is ſo well known to have been aſſumed by, or appropriated to, Ralegh himſelf; "Tam Martii, quam "Mercurio." All which ſeem to ſhadow out the links, if not the perfect chain, of ſome acquaintance between them. But the poem itſelf, to me, diſcovers, in the very firſt line of it, a great air of that ſolid axiomatical vein, which is obſervable in other productions of Ralegh's muſe:

"Sweet were the ſauce would pleaſe each kind of
"taſte."

And the whole middle of Hexaſtic, is ſuch an indication of his own fortune or fate; ſuch a caution againſt that envy of ſuperior merit, which he himſelf ever ſtruggled with; that it could proceed from no hand more properly than his own.

"Tho' ſundry minds in ſundry ſort do deem;
"Yet worthieſt wights yield praiſe to every pain:
"But envious brains do nought, or light eſteem,
"Such ſtately ſteps as they cannot attain:
"For whoſo reaps renown above the reſt,
"With heaps of hate ſhall ſurely be oppreſs'd."

Laſtly, As to the particular of his being at this time of the Middle-Temple, all we can conclude of it is, ſince he has ſo publicly and ſolemnly proteſted he never ſtudied the law there; that it might be as cuſtomary in the inns of court then, as it is now, for a young gentleman to be with a friend, or have the uſe of his chambers while he is out of town, or even have chambers of his own, rather than be confined to the ſingularities

of

of a family in lodgings, and never read a word of the law; much leſs have any purpoſe to practiſe it.

His next ſtage of action was in the Netherlands, according to one of the writers of his life; who tells us, he ſerved under the prince of Orange, as a volunteer againſt the Spaniards; making himſelf, in the Low-Countries, maſter of the art military; and confirming, throngh the ſucceſs of his firſt campaigns, his reſolution to advance himſelf by arms, as the nobler and readier way to glory.

Sir Robert Naunton alſo intimates, that before he was in Ireland under the lord Grey, he was engaged in the Low-Countries, and alſo in a voyage at ſea.

Another author likewiſe agrees in this Low-Countries ſervice, and voyage at ſea, before Ralegh was known at court.

But, the firſt of theſe two writers mentions an earlier expedition of Ralegh's in Ireland, before this of the Low-Countries, as his firſt expoſure to a military life, being ignorant of all the time he paſſed in the French wars; and the laſt fixes him in that firſt Iriſh expedition, under general Norris; I apprehend them to be both miſtaken; the former, in that Ralegh appears not to have been twice againſt the rebels in Ireland, nor once at his firſt engagement in war; and the latter, in that this Norris appears not to be in Ireland, when the courſe of Ralegh's employment will allow him to have been in that kingdom: but now there is room for Ralegh's being in the Netherlands, we find general Norris to be there too.

For the emperor Charles's natural ſon, Don John of Auſtria, a briſk, forward young man, fluſhed with the late victorious battle of Lepanto againſt

againſt the Turks, and high in the pope's favour; being ſent by his brother the king of Spain in the year 1577, governor of the Low-Countries, to divert his mind from higher views at home; and, having incurred the general odium of the States for his tyranny over them, no leſs than the jealouſy of the Engliſh, for his treachery to this nation: queen Elizabeth thought the Dutch now more immediately needful of her notice; and more particularly from a diſcovery that had been made to her, ſome ſay, by the prince of Orange, of a vain project the ſaid Don John had form'd, of reſcuing the queen of Scots out of priſon; and, by marriage with her, or the force of arms, to dethrone the queen of England, and make him maſter of her crown; "For Don John's haughty "conceit of himſelf," ſays Ralegh, "overcame "the greateſt difficulties, though his judgment "was ever weak to manage the leaſt."

Wherefore the queen not only receded from that peace with the Spaniards, and neutrality then in agitation; but ſent the States both men and money, as they had requeſted, to carry on the war more powerfully againſt them.

Among the forces, both Engliſh and Scots, which now poured over, under ſir John Norris, ſir Robert Stewart, colonel John North, Henry Cavendiſh, and others, not to forget colonel Thomas Morgan, whoſe veteran troops were the firſt perfect Harquebuſiers of our nation, and the firſt who taught us to like the muſket; there is here, and here only, I think, a vacancy in the ſtory of Ralegh, that will admit of him under the firſt of thoſe commanders; ſo might he probably ſhare in the danger and honour of that memorable Lammas-Day, anno 1578, which buried the reputation of Don John; which he did not two months

ſurvive;

ſurvive; and which has raiſed the emulation of pencils, as well as pens, to commemorate.

For the States having thus gathered a powerful army, and planted themſelves near the village of Rimenant, about a league from Mecklin: Don John, at the head of, ſome ſay thirty thouſand men, being aſſiſted by the prince of Parma, Mondragon, and other the beſt commanders of Spain, now reſolved to give them battle. He made a furious onſet; but, in the end, by a notable ſtratagem, was deluded to a great overthrow. For perceiving, as he thought, the whole confederate army encamped before the ſaid village, in an open and inviting plain; Don John precipitately detached a ſtronger force to encounter them; which ſo ſucceeded on both ſides, that the States army, after a convenient reſiſtance, feigning a flight, quitted this their counterfeit camp, the Spaniards eagerly purſuing, in a ſcattered and diſorderly manner, to compleat their ſuppoſed victory; till, amazed, they found themſelves in the midſt of the fugitives true camp, environed with nineteen thouſand horſe and foot; a number conſiderably greater than the aſſailants. To extricate themſelves was impoſſible; there was a river on one ſide; when they attempted the thicket on the other, it was lined with an armed ambuſcade of Engliſh and Scots; and, when they aſſaulted the trenches, they could not ſuſtain the fury of the artillery. Yet was the battle vigorouſly maintained from morning till night; tho' the Engliſh and Scots, harraſſed by a long and tireſome march, came but a day, ſome ſay but an hour, to the field, before the encounter began; and yet, partly thro' bravery, partly thro' the ſultry warmth of the weather; or, as one thor has it, more ſenſible of a little heat of the ſun, than any cold fears of death, they made them-

themſelves further remarkable, by ſtripping off armour and cloaths, and fighting in their ſhirts; till at laſt, thoſe who had purſued the States army in a pretended flight, were themſelves driven, with great ſlaughter, to a real one.

Soon after his brother ſir Humphry Gilbert, having now newly obtained a patent of the queen to plant and inhabit ſome northern parts of America, unpoſſeſſed by any prince with whom ſhe was in alliance, ſoon engaged Ralegh, upon his return into England, who was always ready to graſp at every occaſion, that might reputably advance his fortune or his knowledge, to embark in this adventure. For, though the coaſts, from the cape of Florida northward, to the iſles now called the Newfoundlands, had been before diſcovered by John Cabot the father, with Sebaſtian and Sancius his ſons, both Engliſhmen, through the authority and expence of king Henry VII, yet there wanted not only more inland reſearches, and the eſtabliſhment of Chriſtianity, but the very trade and commerce with Newfoundland was very ſlothfully neglected, even ſince the reign of king Edward VI.

Gilbert having, as I ſaid, procured an ample commiſſion to repoſſeſs theſe advantages with improvement, many gentlemen of good account reſorted to him, among whom was his brother Ralegh; ſo that from theſe preparations was expected a potent fleet. Nevertheleſs, among ſuch variety of volunteers, diſpoſitions were various; which, in the end, bred diviſion, and even confuſion of the attempt; for, after the ſhipping was by degrees prepared, and the men ready to go abroad; ſome diſagreeing in opinion, ſome ſhrinking at obedience, and others failing of their promiſes and engagements, the greater number were diſperſed,

diſperſed, leaving the general, with a few only of his aſſured friends. However, with theſe he ventured to ſea; where, having taſted of no leſs misfortune, he was ſhortly after driven to retire home with the loſs of a tall ſhip; and, more to his grief, of a valiant gentleman named Miles Morgan.

This misfortune at ſea, and loſs of a ſhip, with that valiant gentleman, I have not only reaſon to believe, was, by a ſharp engagement they had with the Spaniards, however tenderly touched at that time, perhaps to avoid their triumph, but that Ralegh was in this very engagement, and his life in great danger.

For, there is another author, who, in his addreſs to him before-mentioned, tells him, that after his return from his land ſervices, having gained ſufficient knowledge and experience therein; "to the end, that you might be every way "able to ſerve your prince and commonwealth (ſays he) "you were deſirous to be acquainted "with the maritime affairs; then you, together "with your brother Sir Humphry Gilbert, tra-"velled the ſeas for the ſearch of ſuch countries, "as, if they had then been diſcovered, infinite "commodities, in ſundry reſpects, would have en-"ſued; and whereof there was no doubt, if the "fleet then accompanying you had, according to "appointment, followed you; or yourſelf had "eſcaped the dangerous ſea-fight, when many "of your company was ſlain, and your ſhips there-"with alſo ſore battered and diſabled."

This ill ſucceſs kept not theſe adventurers long abroad; and now new diſturbances broke ou which called for men of experience in war at home. For the firſt dart of any conſequence, which was thrown from Spain or Rome upon Ireland, being in 1580, we ſhall then find Ralegh among that body

body of his countrymen, which effectually broke its force, and ſhielded off the miſchief wherewith it would otherwiſe have galled that kingdom.

For, as to the invaſion of Thomas Stucley, two years before, it blew over into Africa; where that meteor of oſtentation, and tool of ambitious princes, fell in the plains of Alcazar, and with royal company expired. But James Fitz-morris of the Geraldine family was come over, and not long after San Joſepho, under the pope's banner, with Spaniſh and Italian forces, to aſſiſt the Deſmonds in the Munſter rebellion, and had landed in three ſhips at Smerwick in Kerry; where, having built a fort which they call'd Fort del Ore, and reſortified it with the benedictions of Allen an Iriſh, and Sanders an Engliſh jeſuit: the Iriſh rebels, under ſir James and ſir John, brothers to the late earl of Deſmond, ſoon reſorted thither to join, as the Engliſh forces alſo did to diſperſe them. Their ſhips were ſoon taken by Thomas Courtenay, a Devonſhire gentleman; and Fitz-morris himſelf, for a prey he had made of ſome Garons and other cattle, was by ſir William Burk and his ſons ſoon ſlain, and his quarters expoſed at Kilmallock.

The next, whoſe fate drew on, was ſir James Deſmond, who, on the fourth of Auguſt, in the above-mentioned year, having made an inroad upon Muſkerry, and taken a great booty from ſir Cormac Mac Teige, ſheriff of Corke; the ſaid ſheriff making head againſt him, recovered the booty, wounded ſir James mortally, and took him priſoner. In that condition he was kept, till by letters from the lord juſtice ſir William Pelham, and the council, he was delivered to ſir Warham Sentleger, then provoſt-marſhal of Munſter, and to captain Ralegh; and, according to

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the commiſſion directed to them, he was examined, indicted, arraigned, and then, upon judgment, drawn, hanged, and quartered; and his head and limbs impaled upon the city gates of Corke, for a terror to his aſſociates, and a prey for the fowls of the air. And this is the firſt appearance we meet with of Ralegh in Ireland, enough to ſhake the report of thoſe who ſay he was a militia there, and had his firſt commiſſion from Arthur lord Grey, baron of Wilton.

But the chief commander in theſe parts, at this time, was the earl of Ormond, ſoon after governor of Munſter, a man of ſuch loyalty, as to have reduced his rebellious brothers to allegiance; and of ſuch courage, as conſtantly partaking in every danger with his own ſoldiers, made him much beloved by all his adherents; while his apparent contempt thereby of that danger, gained him no leſs fear from all his adverſaries. He, on the other ſide, bending his courſe againſt the foreign enemy, encamped his army at Tralegh, within ken of the Spaniſh fort aforeſaid: hereupon many of thoſe invaders diſloldged, whom the earl valiantly engaged, ſlaying ſome, and taking others priſoners; the reſt flew to the coverts of Glaningell.

The priſoners he took, confeſſed their force was not above ſeven hundred ſtrong; but that they had brought arms and ammunition for five thouſand natives, beſides a maſs of money for the Deſmonds and Dr. Sanders, and daily expected farther ſupplies from Rome; for it was abſolutely determined by the pope and king Philip to make a compleat conqueſt of Ireland, and England beſides; nay, ſo confident they ſeemed of ſucceſs, if we can credit the aſſertion of an author who was this year in Spain, that his holineſs had provided

vided a chalice to drink the queen of England's precious blood, ſays he, as ſoon as ſhe ſhould be made a ſacrifice.

Now, after the aforeſaid defeat, about three hundred of the enemy having made their way back to the fort, the earl followed them cloſe, and encamped at Dingle; but wanting ammunition for a battery, was forced to retire. And, finding himſelf of unequal force to withſtand another ſally the Spaniards made, returned to join the deputy at Rakele; who having now about eight hundred horſe and foot with him, under the conduct of captain Ralegh, Zouch, Denny, Mackworth, and others, decamped and marched up towards the fort. But Ralegh, who had obſerved it to be the cuſtom of the Iriſh Kerns, upon any diſlodgment of the Engliſh camp, to flock in parties thither, and glean away whatever they ſaw left behind; lingered, and lay in ambuſh to receive them. They came accordingly with their wonted conſtancy and greedineſs; but, in the midſt of their proling, Ralegh fell upon them ſo advantageouſly, that he encloſed them all with his men, and took every rebel upon the ſpot, who was not ſlain in reſiſtance.

Among them there was one laden with withies, who being demanded, What he intended to have done with them? boldly anſwered, To have hung up the Engliſh churls. Well, ſaid Ralegh, but they ſhall now ſerve for an Iriſh kern; ſo commanded him to be immediately tucked up in one of his own neckbands; and dealt with the reſt of theſe robbers and murderers according to their deſerts.

We read of another Iriſh rebel, of greater rank, named Brian O Rourk; who being afterwards to ſuffer at the gallows, ſhewed great concern that

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it was to be by the common halter; and earneſtly petitioned, not for pardon or preſervation of his life, but that they would change the inſtrument of his death; and, inſtead of a rope, to let him take his ſwing in a withy; but, being aſked, Why he inſiſted upon ſuch an inſignificant diſtinction? he anſwered, It was a diſtinction had been paid to his countrymen before him.

While the lord-deputy lay before the fort, there arrived in the bay of Smerwick, vice-admiral Bingham, and ſoon after ſir William Winter, admiral of the fleet, with freſh ſupplies: hereupon the lord-deputy reſolved to beſiege the fort by land, while the admiral ſhould batter it by ſea. But firſt the Spaniards were ſummoned to ſurrender at diſcretion, they anſwered, "They were "ſent, ſome from the Holy Father, who had "given that realm to king Philip; and ſome "from that king, who was to recover this land to "the church of Rome, which, by her majeſty's "means, was become ſchiſmatical and excommu-"nicate; therefore, in ſhort, were obliged to "retain what they had, and recover what they "could."

Nor did they omit the advantage they thought this parley would produce, of finding the Engliſh unguarded, to make a ſally upon them; but they were ſo diſappointed, through the vigilance and valour of Ralegh's company, and that of captain Denny, that ſuch as were not left dead behind, were forced to retreat with more haſte than good ſpeed.

The culverins, and other pieces of ordnance, being now landed, and a large mountainous bank laboriouſly cut through, for the carriages to paſs to the place convenient for planting them; the deputy is ſaid to have given the enemy another

ſummons by cannon-ſhot to ſurrender, and receive mercy. But they anſwered as before; thereupon the artillery was ordered to attack the fort both by land and water.

Ralegh commanded the firſt three days after the opening of the trenches; and aſſaulted the fort ſo roughly from his battery, that he forced the Spaniards to ſeveral excurſions; but they ſkirmiſhed ſo warily, and hived again ſo nimbly, that there was no cloſing with them effectually.

The fourth day was commanded by Zouch, under whom John Cheke, the ſon of a knight well known among the learned for his writings, venturing ſo near the fort as to look over the parapet, being obſerved by a Spaniard, who levelled his piece and brought him to the ground. But now the trenches for the full battery were drawn ſo near the Spaniards, and the Engliſh played their cannon ſo furiouſly and inceſſantly upon them from every ſide; and, finding no ſuccours arrive, they beat a parley, and hung out the white flag, crying out Miſericordia, Miſericordia; but the lord-deputy would not liſten to any treaty with the confederates of traitors and rebels; no, not ſo much as to their departure with bag and baggage, or free paſſage to any one particular perſon; nothing but an abſolute ſurrender: and, as for mercy, which Hooker before intimates to have been offered on proviſo of their timely ſubmiſſion, we find, by Edmund Spenſer, who was then ſecretary to the lord deputy, and upon the very ſpot, that his lordſhip never gave the Spaniards any hopes of it.

For, after the lord-deputy had diſcovered that they had yielded, and ſurrendered the fort, on the ninth of November, Ralegh and Mackworth, who had the ward of that day, firſt entered the caſtle, and,

and, with their companies, made a great ſlaughter; ſo that, except one Iriſh nobleman, who was reprieved, another Iriſhman, and an Engliſhman, who were ſent to public execution, except alſo San Joſepho the Spaniſh commander, and his camp maſter, with a few Spaniſh officers, who were ſent priſoners into England, and reſerved for ranſom; all the invaders, between four and five hundred, were, according to the deputy's poſitive command, put to the ſword; and the country was thus weeded of theſe noxious foreigners. As for Ralegh, he never was taxed, that I can learn, with any cruelty upon this account, more than Mackworth, or the reſt of the officers.

Ralegh was quartered this winter at Cork, where he obſerved the ſeditious practices of David, lord Barry, Patrick Condon, and other ringleaders of the rebellion in thoſe parts, to diſtreſs ſo intolerably thoſe ſubjects who were peacefully inclined, and foment the diſaffected to an inſurrection; that he was forced to take a journey in perſon to the lord-deputy at Dublin; where he remonſtrated the dangerous conſequences he foreſaw, ſo urgently, that, the caſe being taken into conſideration by his lordſhip and the council, they returned him with a full commiſſion to enter upon the caſtle, called Barry-Court, with all other lands of the ſaid Barry, and to reduce him to peace and ſubjection, by ſuch means as he judged moſt feaſible; appointing him for his farther enablement a party of horſe.

In the interim, ſuch meaſures were uſed with thoſe in authority at Cork, that the commiſſion proved of little effect; but, though the eſtate of Barry-More, was made over to the mother of David Barry, and only rented to the ſon; and though it was his principal ſeat; yet, partly in

fear of that commiſſion, partly through ſpite and indignation, he burned the caſtle himſelf to the ground, and waſted the country about it with greater outrage and deſtruction, than his enemies, had they taken it, would have done.

Moreover, as Ralegh was on his journey back to his quarters, an old rebel of Barry's faction, named Fitz-Edmonds, and his crew, ſallied from their ambuſcade, and croſſed him, to oppoſe his paſſage, whom Ralegh manfully encountered and defeated, or at leaſt broke through them, ſo that he got clear over the river; but one of his company, Mr. Henry Mole, following, his horſe foundering, threw him down in the middle of it; where, between fear of drowning and being taken by the enemies, he called out to Ralegh for help; who, though he had eſcaped both dangers, yet incurred them again to ſave his companion's life; but Mole, in haſte and confuſion remounting, overleaped his horſe, and fell down on the other ſide into a deep mire, where he might have been ſtifled had not Ralegh recovered him a ſecond time, and brought him ſafe to land: but his horſe run over to the rebels.

Ralegh waited on the oppoſite bank, with his ſtaff in one hand, and a piſtol in the other, for the reſt of his company, who were yet to croſs the river; among whom was his ſervant Jenkin, who had two hundred pounds of his money in charge; a ſum in thoſe days enough to make a ſoldier of fortune in theſe circumſtances look about him; eſpecially now Fitz-Edmonds had got a recruit of twelve men, and was in all above twenty ſtrong againſt him. Yet this hero, as his party called him, when he beheld Ralegh ſtand his ground, and the reſt of his company advance, whom he poſſibly thought might be of greater number than they

they were, only exchanged a few rough words with him, and thought it beſt to offer no further moleſtation.

Soon after the earl of Ormond departed from his long and wearisome ſervices here to England, about the ſpring of the year 1581. His government of Munſter was given to captain Ralegh, in commiſſion with ſir William Morgan and captain Piers. Ralegh lay for the moſt part at Liſmore; and, in the country and woods thereabouts, ſpent all this ſummer in continual action againſt the rebels.

Then Ralegh removed, with his little band of fourſcore foot and eight horſe, to his old quarters at Cork; but receiving intelligence by the way, that the arch-traitor Barry was at Clove, with ſeveral hundred men, he reſolved to paſs through that town, and offer him the combat. Accordingly, at the town's end, he met Barry and his forces, whom Ralegh charged with great bravery, and put him to flight.

As he purſued his journey, he overtook another company of the enemy in a plain, by a wood ſide; upon whom, having only ſix horſemen with him, expecting probably his company would ſoon join him, he gave the onſet; but the rebels, who were in much greater number, being cut off from the wood, and having no other relief, faced about, and fought very deſperately, killing five of the horſes belonging to Ralegh's company, whereof his own was one, and he himſelf very near being overborne by the numbers upon him, had not his truſty ſervant, Nicholas Wright, a Yorkſhire man, interpoſed; who perceiving his maſter's horſe ſo mortally wounded with darts, and plunging paſt all recovery, encountered ſix of the enemy at once, and killed one of them; while another of his fel-

low-ſervants, named Patrick Fagaw, reſcued Ralegh; which had been ſo unſucceſsfully attempted by James Fitz-Richard and his kern, both of Ralegh's company, that the man was ſlain, and the maſter very near the ſame fate; whereupon Ralegh would not ſuffer Wright to fight by him any longer, but ordered him to charge above hand and ſave the gentleman: at which command he ruſhed into the throng of the enemy, diſpatched the antagoniſt, who preſſed foreſt upon Mr. Fitz-Richard, and reſcued him.

In this ſharp ſkirmiſh there were many of the rebels ſlain, and two taken priſoners, whom Ralegh carried with him to Cork; and while he lay there, he performed ſeveral other notable ſervices, which deſerve to be for ever regiſtered. Among the reſt, his excellent conduct in the ſeizure of the lord Roch, is more particularly remembered and applauded.

This nobleman, being much ſuſpected to hold confederacy with ſome of the chief rebels, Ralegh undertook to bring him, with his family, before the earl of Ormond at Cork. But the deſign of this hazardous ſurprize took air among the enemy, and a party of eight hundred men, under Fitz-Edmonds and Barry, were gathered to way-lay the Engliſh either going or coming. However Ralegh, knowing the lord Roch to be a powerful and popular man among the Iriſh, ſo ſuddenly commanded all his company to be in readineſs by eleven o'clock that night, and they were ſo punctual to the hour, that he directly marched away to Bally in Harſh, which was Roch's ſeat, about twenty miles from Cork, and eſcaped the ambuſcade.

He arrived there by break of day; but the townſmen were ſo alarmed, that they ſoon gathered

thered five hundred ſtrong. Ralegh drew up, and in ſuch manner beſtowed his men in the town itſelf, that he ſoon quelled and reſtrained the people there: then ſelecting half a dozen out of his company, and having appointed another little party to follow him, he marched up to the caſtle.

He was met by three or four of Roch's gentlemen, of whom he deſired to ſpeak with their lord; which was agreed to on condition he would diſmiſs three or four of his own attendants; to which, with apparent readineſs, he complied; but ſo contrived that none of them were locked out. Then he gave directions which way the reſt alſo, without the gates, might be admitted, whilſt he ſhould hold the lord Roch in diſcourſe; which ſucceeded ſo happily, that, by degrees, his whole compliment were got within the court-yard, ſome guarding the gates, others watching in the hall, each having his piece loaden with a brace of balls.

The lord Roch was amazed and terrified at ſo ſilent and inſenſible a ſeizure; but, diſſembling his uneaſineſs, he would needs have Ralegh, and the gentlemen with him, participate of his plentiful table; yet the policy of his hoſpitality did not defeat that of their enterprize; for, as ſoon as the dinner was over, Ralegh ingenuouſly laid open the occaſion of his viſit. Lord Roch made many excuſes, and, in the end, abſolutely refuſed to go along with him. But, when the commiſſion was produced, and he found Ralegh inflexible, he choſe to do that by conſent, which he found he muſt do by compulſion. Then Ralegh urged him to oblige his townſmen likewiſe, who had ſo faithfully riſen for his defence in his neighbourhood, to eſcort and defend him in his journey: to which lord Roch alſo conſented, profeſſing he doubted not

but to clear himſelf of whatever allegation ſhould be laid to his charge.

When his lordſhip, with his lady and attendants, had made themſelves ready, Ralegh was for another nocturnal progreſs; but, though the night fell out ſo very dark and tempeſtuous, and the the ways were ſo full of hills and dales, rocks and precipices, that many of his ſoldiers were much bruiſed by falls, and one of them ſo mortified that he loſt his life in the march; yet the veil wherewith the reſt were ſheltered, by that obſcurity, from the more dangerous ambuſcades of the enemy, who had every where beſtrewed the paſſages to intercept them, made ſuch ſufficient compenſations for thoſe diſaſters, that, by the next morning early, he ſafely preſented his priſoners to the general, not without raiſing an univerſal aſtoniſhment at his dextrous evaſion of ſo many perils. But the lord Roch, upon examination, being honourably acquitted, he approved himſelf a faithful ſubject ever after, and three of his ſons laid down their lives in her majeſty's ſervice.

In the month of Auguſt, the ſame year, the lord-deputy made the aforeſaid captain John Zouch governor of Munſter, with whom Ralegh and Dowdal made ſeveral journies to ſettle and compoſe the country; but the certain place of their reſidence was at Cork: and when Zouch, with Dowdal, made that ſecret expedition, in which he lopped off the third branch of this venomous hydra, ſir John Deſmond; whoſe body was hung by the heels on a gibbet, then fixed on the gates of that city, and his head ſent to London; he left the government of Cork to Ralegh, who appears no longer, after this reduction, in the wars of Ireland; but how well his ſervices were received

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by the queen, and how nobly ſhe rewarded him for them after the earl of Deſmond himſelf was ſlain, we ſhall hear, when we arrive at the time that his large poſſeſſions came to be divided among thoſe, who had aſſiſted in quenching the flames of his rebellion.

Ralegh was not long in England, before his relation in ſome degree to the court began to appear, Tradition has induſtriouſly aſcribed his firſt introduction thither to a piece of gallantry, wherewith he ſurprized the queen accidentally in one of her walks.

" Her majeſty meeting," ſays my author, " with a plaſhy place, made ſome ſcruple to go " on; when Ralegh, dreſſed in the gay and gen- " teel habit of thoſe times, preſently caſt off and " ſpread his new pluſh cloak on the ground, " whereon the queen trod gently over, rewarding " him afterwards with many ſuits for his ſo free " and ſeaſonable tender of ſo fair a foot-cloth. " Thus an advantageous admiſſion into the notice " of a prince, is more than half a degree to pre- " ferment."

After this, Ralegh coming to court, and finding ſome hopes of the queen's favour reflecting upon him, he wrote in a glaſs window, obvious to her eye,

" Fain would I climb, yet fear I to fall."

Under which her majeſty ſoon after wrote,

" If thy heart fail thee, climb not at all."

But, though he always made a very elegant appearance, as well in the ſplendor of attire, as the politeneſs of addreſs; having a good preſence in a handſome

handſome and well compacted perſon; a ſtrong natural wit, and a better judgment; with a bold and plauſible tongue, whereby he could ſet out his parts to the beſt advantage; all very engaging advocates for royal favour, eſpecially in a female ſovereign; but, be that as it may, we find him, upon his return into England, employed in an expedition or two, by authority from the court; they being upon occaſions of ſtate: and, though it imports not much whether it was now, or before he was in Ireland, that he accompanied the French embaſſador, monſieur Simier, among thoſe gentlemen who were appointed for his ſafe convoy to France: yet, if that embaſſador returned home, when his maſter the duke of Anjou, came laſt over in November, the year before-named, this is the place for it to be mentioned in.

But, after the duke of Anjou himſelf had been three months in England, he alſo departed to take upon him the government of the Netherlands. This departure was in February following; and, though the queen ſeems to have declined the marriage with him, principally becauſe ſhe found her miniſtry ſo averſe to it; yet there was an author, and his printer, who, for having publiſhed a little treatiſe againſt it about two years before, had their hands cut off but a few days after the duke come to London: and ſhe ſhewed him many other marks of favour and diſtinction; particularly when he left the kingdom, ſhe bore him company in perſon to Dover; and, having appointed a moſt ſplendid retinue of nobles and gentlemen to wait upon him to his new government; I find that Ralegh was alſo among this grand aſſembly. They attended the duke to Antwerp, where, making a moſt magnificent proceſſion, he was created duke of Brabant, &c. and inveſted with his charge.

Ralegh

Ralegh ſeems not only to have ſtaid there ſome time after the lord-admiral Howard, Leiceſter, young Sidney, and the reſt were returned; but, through the opportunity of being perſonally known to the prince of Orange, honoured with ſome ſpecial acknowledgments from him to the queen of England. And Ralegh mentions thus much himſelf, in a diſcourſe he wrote many years afterwards; wherein, ſpeaking of the Hollanders flouriſhing ſtate, he lays down, as the firſt cauſe thereof, the favour and aſſiſtance granted them by this crown; "which, ſays he, the late worthy and "famous prince of Orange did always acknow-"ledge; and, in the year 1582, when I took my "leave of him at Antwerp, after the return of the "earl of Leiceſter into England, and monſieur's "arrival there; when he delivered me his letters "to her majeſty, he prayed me to ſay to the queen "from him, "Sub umbra alarum tuarum prote-"gimur:" for certainly," ſays he, "they had "withered in the bud, and ſunk in the beginning "of their navigation, had not her majeſty aſſiſted "them."

Towards the end of Auguſt, this laſt mentioned year, the lord Grey reſigned the ſword of Ireland, after he had been two years deputy in that kingdom; and this muſt be the time, that diſpute between him and Ralegh was brought to a hearing, of which authors have ſo blindly written.

Sir Robert Naunton is confident, that, among the ſecond cauſes of Ralegh's growth (not denying, or rather aquieſcing, in his actions and accompliſhments to have been the firſt) that variance between him and the lord Grey, in his deſcent into Ireland, was a principal; "for it drew them both "over," ſays he, "to the council-table, there to "plead their cauſe; where (what advantage he "had

" had in the cauſe, my ſaid author knew not (but " ſays) he had much the better in telling of his " tale; and ſo much, that the queen and the lords " took no ſlight mark of the man and his parts; " for from thence he came to be known, and to " have acceſs to the queen and the lords."

Now, if this author is ſo defective, as not to have known the cauſe or ſubject of their quarrel; or, that Ralegh, leaving Ireland long before the lord Grey, was not likely to be drawn over together with him to the council-table; how much more muſt thoſe writers following him be ſo, who have confuſed this matter with ſeveral other particulars; though they ſeem to have had no other authority? One of them ſays, Ralegh had in deed, but not in truth, the better by the tongue; and inſinuates, (with great caution and delicacy he thought, no doubt) that the queen had been told ſomething ſo engaging of Ralegh, beſides his advantage in pleading, that it was not to be mentioned; as if any of her courtiers dared to ſay any thing to the queen's face, which this anonymous writer, near fifty years after her death, would be either aſhamed or afraid to repeat.

A later writer makes ſuch diſtinctions of Ralegh's extraordinary behaviour in this diſpute, as if he had been at the council-table, and ſeen as well as heard him. And another, after them all, has found out the cauſe of this difference between them, to be captain Zouch's preferment.

But paſſing theſe over, our author, Naunton, goes on; and, though he does not determine, whether the lord Leiceſter had then caſt in a good word for Ralegh to the queen; yet ſays, " It is " true, that he had gotten the queen's ear at a " trice, and ſhe began to be taken with his elo- " cution, and loved to hear his reaſons to her " demands;

" demands; and the truth is, ſhe took him for a " kind of oracle; which nettled them all; yea, " thoſe he relied on, began to take this his ſud- " den favour for an alarm; to be ſenſible of " their own ſupplantation, and to project his; " which made him ſhortly after ſing, Fortune my " foe, &c."

It is hinted to us ſomewhat more expreſly, by another court-writer of thoſe times, that the earl of Leiceſter befriended Ralegh (perhaps through his friendſhip with young Sidney, that earl's worthily beloved nephew) in his firſt advancement at court; and that being willing, for his own eaſe, to beſtow handſomely upon another ſome part of the pains, and perhaps of the envy, to which a long indulgent fortune is obnoxious, either brought or let him into that promiſing ſphere of preferment; where the earl ſoon found him ſuch an apprentice as knew well enough how to ſet up for himſelf. So that, if the earl of Suſſex, who was Leiceſter's antagoniſt, had any hand in Ralegh's riſe, as ſome later writers of leſs authority have ſuggeſted, it ſeems to have been afterwards, when Ralegh's courtly ſplendor was ſomewhat obſtructed; and Leiceſter meant to allay it, by interpoſing the young earl of Eſſex; for Ralegh continued, during that ſtorm, in ſome luſtre of a favoured man, like billows which ſink but by degrees, even when the wind is down that firſt ſtirred them. But this we ſhall obſerve as we go on, that, in all the different aſpects or conjunctions of intereſt, through the acceſs or change of new favourites in this long reign, none were leſs immerged by the ſmiles of the court, in the luxuries and vanities of it, nor more animated by its frowns to the enterpriſing of public and ſuperior difficulties for the honour

honour and aggrandiſement of his country. Not that he ſet out to ſea, but when he had deſpaired of raiſing himſelf on ſhore; for theſe public enterprizes were rooted ſo early in Ralegh's aſpiring mind, that we perceive, even now, before factions at court could drive him from the land, or preferments and grants from the crown enable him for the ſea; that he had built, at his own expence, to proſecute them, a ſtrong handſome ſhip, which was named Bark Ralegh, of two hundred tons burden.

And now that the ſix years period of ſir Humphrey Gilbert's patent grew ſhort, four of them being elapſed, he thought it high time to make a new attempt in perſon, (ſince his aſſignments had proved of little conſequence) at thoſe diſcoveries he had before failed in, that he might confirm by experience what he had ſo excellently advanced in theory.

Accordingly, having fitted out a fleet of four ſhips, Ralegh alſo victualled and manned out his before-mentioned, which was the largeſt among them; and, in the quality of vice-admiral, ſet out to bear his brother Gilbert company, in this his laſt expedition to Newfoundland. The fleet departed from Plymouth on the eleventh of June, 1583.

My author, who was in this voyage, tells us, no coſt was ſpared by Ralegh in proviſions and neceſſaries for the happy accompliſhment of it; yet that, in two or three days following, he returned greatly diſtreſſed to Plymouth, by reaſon his whole ſhip's company was infected with a contagious ſickneſs. But, lucky to him, perhaps, was this viſitation; ſince the voyage proved ſo fatal to thoſe who went through it; particularly ſir Humphrey himſelf;

himſelf; who, though he arrived in Newfoundland in the beginning of Auguſt following; took poſſeſſion of the country, in right of the crown of England, by digging up a turf, and receiving it with a hazel wand, delivered to him according to our law and cuſtom; alſo had aſſigned lands to every man in his company, and was got three hundred leagues in his way home again, with full hopes of the queen's aſſiſtance to fit out a fleet not only for the north, but one alſo for the ſouth, next year; yet over-hardily venturing in a little frigate of ten tons burden, called the Squirrel, he was, on the ninth of September following, at midnight, in a high ſea, ſwallowed up.

Another of the veſſels, called the Delight, but few days before alſo ſuffered the ſame fate; and even the reſt returned not without great hazard, hardſhip, and loſs; "Teaching, ſays Camden, "that it is a more difficult matter to carry over "colonies unto remote countries upon private "men's purſes, than he and others had perſuaded "themſelves, to their own loſs and detriment; but "neither theſe unfortunate attempts by ſea hither-"to, nor the ruin of ſir Humphrey Gilbert's eſtate; "nor the loſs of his life, nor the hardſhips of "all his company beſides, could teach Ralegh "that leſſon: theſe examples, and this experi-"ence, were ſo far from ſatiating, that they did "but ſharpen his appetite to ſuch honourable "dangers."

And, as we are aſſured, from family tradition, by a late author of his own name and lineage, that the diſcoveries of the great Columbus, the conqueſts of Fernando Cortez, the famous Francis Pizarro, and other leaders of the Spaniards, who, under the emperor Charles and his ſon Philip II. had made the greateſt and moſt ſurpriſing additions to their empire, that ever prince received, or

ſubjects

ſubjects wrought, were the favourite hiſtories that took up Ralegh's early reading and converſation while he was but a young man; we may preſume they ſo poſſeſſed his noble genius, with perhaps alſo ſome late domeſtic and living examples) that no little perſonal oppoſitions at home, or particular miſadventures abroad, could ever diſcourage him from the purſuit of theſe grand and national undertakings.

But when, by his own obſervation, he found the Spaniards had only ſettled upon the middle and ſouthern parts of America; and, that there were certain vaſt territories yet unknown to the north of thoſe lands, which the Spaniards already enjoyed, as fit perhaps for ſettlement, and as eaſy to conquer as any they did enjoy: and when, by his enquiries, among the moſt obſervant pilots and mariners who had ſailed in the Spaniſh ſhip to the gulph of Mexico, many of whom he had opportunity to meet and diſcourſe with in Holland and Flanders, he had learned that the Spaniards always went into the Gulph of Mexico by St. Domingo and the iſland of Hiſpaniola, where the currents with the trade-winds always ran together, and ſet into the bay; that they always diſembogued, as they called it, or came out by the Havannah, and the chanels of Bahama, which they now call the Gulph of Florida; and that, as they returned by this gulph, they found a continued coaſt on the weſt ſide tending away north, which they generally loſt ſight of by ſtanding away to the eaſt, to make for the coaſt of Spain.

Ralegh, fully determined that there was a vaſt extent of land north of that gulph, or weſt from the coaſt of Spain, which might be well worth diſcovering; and, after mature deliberation, fully reſolved upon the diſcovery.

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As ſoon as he had digeſted his propoſal and, diſplayed the manner of proſecuting it in proper ſchemes, he laid them before the queen and council; to whom it appearing a rational, practical, and generous undertaking, her majeſty was pleaſed, in the beginning of the year 1584, to grant him full power to enjoy ſuch countries as he propoſed to diſcover, by her letters patents.

Immediately upon the grant of this patent, Ralegh gave his inſtructions for an American voyage to captain Philip Amadas and captain Arthur Barlow, two experienced commanders, and had got a couple of barks well furniſhed with men and proviſions at his own expence, in ſuch readineſs, that, on the twenty-ſeventh day of April following, they departed from the weſt of England.

The tenth of May they arrived at the Canaries, and a month after fell upon the iſles of the Weſt. Indies, "which, with the reſt adjoining," ſays my author, one of thoſe captains, "are ſo well known "to yourſelf," directing the account of this voyage to his proprietor, "and to many others, that I "will not trouble you with the remembrance of "them."

In the beginning of July, they were ſaluted with a moſt fragrant gale from the land they were ſeeking, and ſoon after arrived upon the coaſt; but ſailed along ſome ſix-ſcore miles before they could find an entrance by any river iſſuing into the ſea. At laſt diſcovering one, they manned out their boats to view the land adjoining, where they ſaw vines laden with grapes in vaſt abundance, climbing up the tall cedars, and ſpreading ſo luxuriantly along the ſandy ſhore, that the ſea often overflowed them.

On the thirteenth of July, they took poſſeſſion in right of the queen, and afterwards delivered the country over to Ralegh's uſe.

They thought this land had at firſt been the continent, but found it afterwards only an iſland twenty miles long, called Wocoken; plentifully ſtocked with animals, groves of ſweet-ſmelling trees, pulſe, grain, and eſculent roots. They obſerved along the coaſt, a tract of iſlands two or three hundred miles long; and paſſing between them, ſaw another great ſea, twenty, forty, and, in ſome places, fifty miles over, before they could reach the continent; and, in this incloſed ſea, above one hundred iſlands of various ſizes whereof one is ſixteen miles long, called Roanoak, and about ſeven leagues diſtant, up the river Occam, from the harbour they firſt entered; at which they chiefly ſettled while they ſtaid, finding it ſo pleaſant and fruitful as to yield three harveſts in five months. But they remained upon the borders of Wocoken two days before they beheld a human creature; on the third, they ſaw a boat rowing towards them with three of the natives. One of them landed, and walked up the ſhore near their ſhip, for they were then on board; then the two captains, with ſome others, took their boat and rowed to land, and, by their courteous carriage, ſoon prevailed on the native to return with them on board; where they cloathed him, and gave him victuals, wine, and ſeveral little toys or utenſils, which won the ſimple creature's heart. Soon after his departure he returned again with a boat full of fiſh, to be divided between the ſhip and the pinnace, and then he left them.

The next day came the king's brother Granganimeo, with a great many attendants; for the king himſelf, who was named Wingina, from his large territories Wingandacoa, lay ill of the wounds he had lately received in war. His brother was highly pleaſed with his entertainment, and, having received

ceived ſeveral preſents, ſoon after ſent the ſavages to traffic with the Engliſh; alſo came again himſelf and exchanged twenty ſkins, worth as many nobles, for a tin diſh, which he hung as a gorget about his neck, to defend him from the arrows of his enemies. Then alſo he brought his wife and children, with her attendants, forty or fifty in number.

She was well-favoured, but baſhful, clad in a mantle of deer-ſkin, lined with fur, and a kind of apron of the ſame: her hair hung down long on each ſide, with a band of white coral about her forehead, and long bracelets of pearl down to her middle, as big as peaſe, in her ears; "a bracelet "whereof we delivered to your worſhip," ſays my author to Ralegh. Her huſband's apparel was much like hers, only about his head he wore a broad plate of gold or copper; and his hair was long but on one ſide.

After this interview, familiar commerce paſſed between the natives and the Engliſh, who, when they went to Roanoak, were much careſſed and treated by the lady aforeſaid: and, when ſhe could not prevail with them to ſtay, being but few in company, though the natives had no edge-tools of iron or ſteel, and had proffered a great box of pearl for ſome armour and a ſword, ſhe ſent her women to watch them all night in their ſhips on the bank-ſide: and, indeed, all the people who ſaw them; admired much at their ſhips, their fire-arms, their cloaths, and, above all, their complexions; for, except a veſſel which was caſt away with ſome Chriſtian adventurers about twenty-ſix years before near Secotan, the ſouthermoſt town in Wingandacoa, never any people in apparel, or of fair colour, were ſeen or heard of among them; which

made them wonder ſo much at the whiteneſs of their ſkins, and ſo fond of ſeeing and touching them.

Under theſe favourable recommendations, and the diſtreſs which the natives were in for ſome powerful friends to defend them from the invaſion of their neighbours, the promiſes of viſiting them again, wherewith the Engliſh left them, after having learned as much of the ſituation, ſtate and product of the country, as was at this time convenient, were very acceptable: ſo, bringing over a couple of the Indians with them, named Manteo and Wancheſe, to ſhew them our fine country, they arrived ſafely in the weſt of England about the middle of September following.

When Ralegh had laid before her majeſty theſe and all other reports moſt worthy of notice, of this rich, beautiful, and virgin country; and had acknowledged how much this hopeful progreſs towards the poſſeſſion of it was owing to the auſpices of a virgin queen; ſhe was ſo well pleaſed with the honour and advantage it promiſed, and gave him ſuch encouragement to compleat the diſcovery, which he forthwith prepared to do by another expedition, that ſhe called it herſelf by the name of Virginia.

About two months after, he was elected a knight of the ſhire for the county of Devon; ſir William Courtenay being the other repreſentative.

There was then a clerk of the parliament ſo very indolent, or otherwiſe indiſpoſed, that the tranſactions of the houſe of commons at this time were very imperfectly recorded. Yet we find Ralegh mentioned to have been choſen of the committees upon ſome bills that were then read.

On the fourteenth of December following, the bill, in confirmation of his patent aforeſaid, for the

the diſcovery of foreign countries, was read the firſt time. In the afternoon it was read the ſecond time, and committed to the vice-chamberlain Hatton, ſecretary Walſingham, ſir Philip Sidney, ſir Francis Drake, ſir Richard Greenfield (or Grenvill), ſir William Courtenay, ſir William Mohun, and others. Three days after, the ſaid bill was, without any alteration, ordered to be engroſſed. The next day it was read the third time, when it paſſed the houſe.

Between this time and the twenty-fourth of February following, he received the honour of knighthood; for, being then in a committee for conſidering after what manner and meaſure they ſhould ſupply her majeſty by ſubſidy. This is the earlieſt time I meet with of his being ſtiled ſir Walter Ralegh; a title which her majeſty beſtowed, as all others of honour, with frugality and choice. Therefore was it a more certain cognizance of virtue or valour, than titles of more pompous denomination in the reign of her ſucceſſor, who ſuffered lucre to corrupt the noble fountain, to turn it into vulgar channels, and drain it even to the dregs. Nay, that this honour was intended by that queen as the moſt ſignificant teſtimony of perſonal deſert, may be inſtanced, according to an ingenious obſerver of her reign, "in ſir Francis "Vere, a man nobly deſcended; and ſir Walter "Ralegh, exactly qualified," ſays he, "with "many others, ſet apart in her judgment for "military ſervices; whoſe titles ſhe never raiſed "above knighthood; ſaying, when importuned "to make Vere a baron, That, in his proper "ſphere, and her eſtimation, he was above it "already."

About the time that her majeſty granted Ralegh the patent above-cited for the diſcovery of remote

countries, ſhe ſeems alſo to have given him another to licence the vending of wines throughout the kingdom, that he might be better able to ſuſtain the great charges which the other brought upon him. There were no reſtrictions it ſeems in this patent from increaſing the number of vintners in any part of the realm; and hence aroſe his controverſy at this time with one of the univerſities: for Ralegh having, by virtue of that general patent given licence to one John Keymer to ſell wine in Cambridge, ſome of the hotter heads, eſpecially the other vintners there, among whom was Baxter, a 'ſquire beadle, licenſed to ſell wine by that univerſity, oppoſed this Keymer and his wife with ſuch violence, that ſhe was likely to have died.

Complaint being made to Ralegh, he wrote a letter to "The worſhipful Dr. Howland, vice-"chancellor and the reſt of the maſters," to tell them how much he took this riotous demeanour as a contempt of the queen's grant to him; preſuming, if he had given any unlawful privilege, the conference he had offered, by his deputies, for a quiet deciſion of the matter by a learned council between them, would have been accepted. Further telling them, that, if the abuſe was not regulated, and the ſaid Keymer permitted to enjoy the liberty granted him; he would take ſome other courſe for reformation therein; but reſting aſſured they would uſe ſuch means as might occaſion no further trouble, he, not deſiring to execute his grant to its extent among their vintners, who were the only diſturbers herein, reſpecting more their own gain than quiet government, he only craves their anſwer, and that the riotous perſons might not reſt unpuniſhed; ſo bids them heartily farewell; from his lodgings at the court, the ninth day

day of July, 1584; and ſubſcribes himſelf, "Your "very loving affectionate friend."

This producing no anſwer in ſeven months, and Ralegh having heard they continued to oppreſs Keymer; he wrote again; "To his loving friend "the vice chancellor, &c." telling him, That, being by information perſuaded, himſelf, with the grave and well-diſpoſed of the univerſity, were ſo grieved with the unſeemly outrages lately committed by the young and unbridled heads thereof, to the contempt of the queen's prerogative and his diſcredit, as ſufficient order had been taken for the bearer's quiet; which cauſed him to reſt from requiring reformation therein at his good lord-treaſurer's hands; who, as yet, underſtood nothing from him of theſe riots, through the good-will he bore to their univerſity; and, that he meant ſo to deal with them, for the other four taverns, as ſhould ſufficiently have contented them; but his too favourable dealing with them had given ſuch encouragement as, that, intended further to diſturb the bearer, they had warned him to appear before them; with which they had perſuaded him to comply.

Upon their ſending no anſwer to this, and Ralegh hearing they had ſuddenly clapped up the man in priſon, he ſent, ten days after the laſt, his third letter from the court, directed "To the vice-"chancellor, and the reſt of the maſters, &c." and herein tells them, He cannot a little marvel at their preremptory and proud manner of dealing. That he was content to uſe all manner of courteſy towards them in reſpect of his honourable good lord-treaſurer; but perceived his reaſonable, or rather too ſubmiſſive dealing, had bred in them a proceeding unſufferable; having committed a poor man to priſon, for doing nothing but what was warranted by the great-ſeal of England; which,

ſuppoſing they had a charter, he knew not that any man or ſociety would ſo much take upon them to do before a trial. "As I reverence the place," ſays he, "of which you are the governors, ſo I will "not willingly take any wrong or diſgrace from "you." But as he was aſſured the lord-treaſurer would be indifferent in the caſe, and as the matter ſo much concerned the validity of his patent elſewhere, as well as in their univerſity, he would try the utmoſt of his right as well for this one, wherewith he was content to have been ſatisfied, as for all the other four. So thinking they would have vouchſafed him an anſwer to his laſt letters, he ends ſubſcribing himſelf "Your friend, as you ſhall "give cauſe."

This rouſed them to ſome conſideration, and ſoon after, a handſome apologetical letter was ſent from the vice-chancellor to ſir W. Ralegh, ſetting forth, that the hard opinion he had conceived of them for this matter, made them doubt what manner of anſwer they might addreſs to him without offence; and that their ſilence was ſo ill taken, they knew not how their endeavours to excuſe it might give him ſatisfaction: that they had not neglected any reaſonable means to procure his favour for the quiet enjoyment of that whereof they had the fruition for above two hundred years; nor omitted to become petitioners to him in a very humble manner: that his counſel had not made any juſt exception againſt their charters; and thoſe who had the hearing of the caſe, thought them to have the better warrant; yet, that he uſed ſuch hard terms, as they little looked for at his hands; "being by birth a gentleman; by educa-"tion trained up to the knowledge of good letters; "inſtructed with the liberal diſpoſition of a uni-"verſity, the fountain and nurſery of all humanity;

"and

" and further, by God's good bleſſing, advanced " in court, from whence the very name of courteſy " is drawn." That the prejudice he apprehended from their example againſt his patent, was unlikely to fall out; ſince other places were not privileged as the univerſities were. That her majeſty's grant, by her prerogative, gave him his title; and the like prerogative was the ground of their charters: and, as he would think it hard to have his patent impeached by an after-grant, they hoped he would with like equity, meaſure them, who were warranted to have the ſole dealing with all vintners in Cambridge town, and the precincts thereof.

Touching the impriſonment of the party, whom he charged them with proceeding againſt before trial; and who, according to Mr. Brown's promiſe to the lord-treaſurer, was to have given over at Michaelmas laſt; however the courſe thereof had been otherwiſe reported to him, it was only at this time to correct his contempt in not appearing, being lawfully warned, and refuſing to anſwer before the ordinary judge, or enter bond for appearance when cauſe ſhould require. That, for their own part, it would be no diſadvantage whether he or other, one or many, were vintners there; but, in regard of the youth committed to their charge, duty bound them to conſider who they admitted to keep taverns, the number whereof was alſo limitted; which, if they exceeded, would endanger their privileges; for the preſervation whereof, as they had all taken a ſpecial oath, ſo they right humbly, eftſoons, beſeeched him to have regard of them for their duties therein. Concluding thus, " Whatever kindneſs you ſhall any way ſhew to " the univerſity; as the body thereof doth ſtill " continue, ſo the memory thereof cannot decay. " There is not one of us, but you may readily " com-

" command wherein it may pleaſe you to employ
" us; only we pray you, and that in the heartieſt
" manner, to vouchſafe us your favour in matter of
" our privileges; that we may leave them in no
" worſe eſtate to poſterity, than we received them
" of our predeceſſor. Thus, deſiring God ſo to
" direct you with his bleſſed ſpirit, as may be moſt
" to his glory, and your greateſt comfort, we take
" our leave; from Cambridge.

This might probably pacify Ralegh at preſent, both for their neglect in not anſwering his letters, and their forwardneſs in impriſoning the man; till the difference was a few months afterwards accommodated by the lord-treaſurer, who was chancellor of that univerſity.

The parliament being ſoon after, on the twenty-ninth of March, 1585, prorogued, Ralegh appears ſeveral ways engaged, in the laudable improvements of navigation. For his brother Adrian Gilbert of Sandridge, afterwards knighted in purſuance of the arguments laid down by his brother ſir Humphrey, having been at great charges in finding out the northern paſſage to China and the Moluccas; and, in conſideration thereof, been granted a patent by the queen two years before this time, to purſue the diſcovery by partners, under the title of, " The colleagues of the fellowſhip for the diſ-
" covery of the north-weſt paſſage;" Ralegh was now one of the aſſociates in this enterprize; and, after having duly conſulted about the likelieſt means to ſucceed, and liberally contributed towards the expence, they choſe captain John Davis, an experienced navigator, to undertake the enterprize.

He ſet out firſt upon it this ſummer from Falmouth in two barks. When he came to land ſixty-ſix degrees forty minutes latitude, he anchored in a very

a very fair road, under a brave mountain; which, for the ſplendid appearance it made, the cliffs thereof being as orient as gold, they named Mount Ralegh, in honour of their proprietor; and ſoon after fell into the very paſſage they ſought, ſince well known by the name of Davis's Streights. The farther ſearch whereof, through the ſame patronage and ſupport, captain Davis made in two voyages more, the two following years, and in a manner compleated the ſaid diſcovery.

Camden has remembered, that by the Virginia colony, the famous American plant called tobacco was firſt brought into England, by or under governor Lane, doubtleſs according to the inſtructions they had received of their proprietor; for the introduction among us of that commodity is generally aſcribed to Ralegh himſelf.

There are ſome pleaſant ſtories of this plant, with relation to him, which have been as carefully preſerved as the box he kept it in.

Being at Leeds, in Yorkſhire, ſoon after Mr. Ralph Thoreſby, the antiquary, died, anno 1725, I ſaw his muſæum; and in it, among other rarities, what himſelf has publicly called, in the catalogue thereof annexed to his antiquities of that town, ſir Walter Ralegh's tobacco-box. From the beſt of my memory, I can reſemble its outward appearance to nothing more nearly than one of our modern muff-caſes; about the ſame height and width, covered with red leather, and opened at top, but with a hinge, I think, like one of thoſe. In the inſide, there was a cavity for a receiver of glaſs or metal, which might hold half a pound or a pound of tobacco; and from the edge of the receiver at top, to the edge of the box, a circular ſtay or collar, with holes in it to plant the tobacco about,

about, with ſix or eight pipes to ſmoke it in. This travelling box, with the manuſcripts, medals, and other rarities in its company, deſcending to a young clergyman, the ſon of the deceaſed, was ſoon after reported to have been tranſlated to London.

But the tradition of "Ralegh's ſmoaking to-"bacco at firſt privately in his ſtudy, and of the "ſervant, who uſed to wait on him there, ſur-"priſing him one time with his tankard of ale "and nutmeg, as he was intent upon his book "before he had done his pipe; and ſeeing the "ſmoke reeking out of his mouth, threw all the "ale in his face, then running down ſtairs alarmed "the family with repeated exclamations, that his "maſter was on fire, and, before they could get "up, would be burnt to aſhes." This, I ſay, if true, has nothing in it of more ſurpriſing or unparallelled ſimplicity, than there was in that poor Norwegian, who, upon the firſt ſight of roſes could not be induced to touch though he ſaw them grow, being ſo amazed to behold trees budding with fire: or, to come cloſer, by way of retaliation, than there was in thoſe Virginians themſelves, who, the firſt time they ſeized upon a quantity of gunpowder which belonged to the Engliſh colony, ſowed it for grain, or the ſeed of ſome ſtrange vegetable in the earth, with full expectation of reaping a plentiful crop of combuſtion by the next harveſt, to ſcatter their enemies.

But paſſing over theſe tales; as Ralegh was the firſt who brought this herb in requeſt among us, and laid the foundation for that great traffic therewith, which has been of ſuch conſiderable benefit to his country; there is no leſs honour due to him than has been conferred on that embaſſador, who had before brought it out of Portugal into France; where, in mentioning the herb, they pay grateful

grateful acknowledgments to the importer, by calling it Nicotiana, after his own name: nay, his politic ſovereign, Catherine de Medicis, did ſo zealouſly encourage the uſe of it, that it was alſo afterwards in honour of her called the Queen's Herb. Nor was the queen of England backward in liſtening to, and promoting the advantages it was promiſed to produce.

We may gather from ſome authors, that ſhe was very curious to know its virtues and properties; and that once converſing with Ralegh upon this ſubject, "He aſſured her majeſty he had ſo well "experienced the nature of it, that he could tell "her of what weight, even the ſmoke would be "in any quantity propoſed to be conſumed. Her "majeſty, fixing her thoughts upon the moſt im-"practicable part of the experiment, that of "bounding the ſmoke in a ballance, ſuſpected "that he put the traveller upon her, and would "needs lay him a wager he could not ſolve the "doubt: ſo he procured a quantity agreed upon "to be thoroughly ſmoked; then went to weigh-"ing, but it was of the aſhes; and, in the con-"cluſion, what was wanting in the prime weight "of the tobacco, her majeſty did not deny to have "been evaporated in ſmoke; and further ſaid, "That many labourers, in the fire ſhe had heard "of who, turned their gold into ſmoke, but Ra-"legh was the firſt who had turned ſmoke into "gold."

To this we may here add the teſtimony of Camden; who, ſpeaking of this undertaking of Virginia, at the return of the laſt colony ſent thither by ſir Walter Ralegh, ſays, "He was a man never "to be ſufficiently commended for the great "pains he took in diſcovering remote countries,

"and

" and advancing the glory of the Engliſh navi-
' gation."

That Baſſimerus was the learned Martine Baſſaniere of Paris, with whom Richard Hakluyt, the worthy collector of our naval adventures, being acquainted, and having procured a very valuable hiſtory in manuſcript of the firſt diſcovery of Florida, about twenty years before this time, by Rene Laudonniere, and three other French captains, he ſent it over to Monſieur Baſſaniere, who publiſhed it from the ſaid French copy, this year at Paris, and dedicated it, as aforeſaid, to ſir Walter Ralegh, who, as appears above, was therein celebrated. But it was tranſlated into Engliſh the year following by Richard Hakluyt himſelf, who alſo dedicates it anew to the ſame patron: and, indeed, we find Ralegh from this time a very conſiderable patron of learned and ingenious authors, not only in hiſtory and geography, but antiquities, chymiſtry, poetry, and other branches of art and ſcience; for admiral Coligny having ſent over, with the aforeſaid diſcoverers of Florida, a very ſkilful artiſt from France, to take draughts of whatever he found obſervable and worthy of repreſentation in the ſaid country: which he did, not only among the animal and vegetable rarities thereof, but alſo it ſeems, from the cuſtoms of the natives and hiſtorical events among the diſcoverers themſelves. This painter living afterwards in London, at, or before the publication of thoſe diſcoveries, was ſupported by Ralegh in the great expence of publiſhing alſo his draughts and deſcriptions. For Hakluyt, among other reaſons for not particularizing the commodities of thoſe parts; the accidents of the Frenchmen's government therein; the cauſes of their good and bad ſucceſs; with the

ſurprizes

ſurprizes made by their enemies, tells Ralegh he does not reckon them up again; "the rather, be-"cauſe the ſame, with divers other things of "chiefeſt importance, are lively drawn in colours "at your no ſmall charges, by the ſkilful painter "James Morgues, ſometime living in Black-"Friars, London, whom Monſieur Chaſtillon, "then admiral of France, ſent thither (to Florida) "with Laudoniere for that purpoſe; which "(painter) was an eye-witneſs of the goodneſs and "fertility of thoſe regions, and hath put down in "writing many ſingularities, which are not men-"tioned in this treatiſe; and which he hath ſince "publiſhed, together with the portraitures.'

To this we may further add, that there was about this time alſo another book, dedicated to Ralegh, in praiſe of muſic, wherein, beſides its antiquity and dignity, is declared, that the uſe of the ſame is lawful in the congregation and church of God.

About this time it was, her majeſty conferred upon him ſome preferments; but of honour more than profit perhaps to him: for Hooker, in the dedication of his Iriſh hiſtory, dated the twelfth of October this year, inſcribes it to the right worthy and honourable gentleman, ſir Walter Ralegh, knight, ſeneſchal of the duchies of Cornwall and Exeter, and lord-warden of the Stannaries in Devon and Cornwall.

To theſe dignities, it is to be ſuppoſed, he was then but newly advanced; becauſe the ſaid hiſtorian, in the body of the dedication, begs leave to remember, "How it hath pleaſed God to bring "you, ſays he, into the favour of your prince "and ſovereign; who, beſides her great favour "towards you many ways, hath alſo laid upon you "the charge of a government in your own coun-"try;

" try; where you are to command many people " by your honourable office of the ſtannary, and " where you are both a judge and a chancellor to " rule in juſtice, and to judge in equity."

How Ralegh uſed this favour, and what uſage it alſo procured him, the ſame dedication diſcovers further in theſe words. " It is well known, " that it had been no leſs eaſy for you, than for " ſuch as have been advanced by kings, to have " builded great houſes, purchaſed large circuits, " and to have uſed the fruits of princes favours, " as moſt men, in all former and preſent ages " have done; had you not preferred the general " honour and commodity of your prince and " country before all that is private; whereby you " have been rather a ſervant than a commander to " your own fortune."

The earl of Eſſex had now been near a twelvemonth abroad, under his father-in-law, Leiceſter, governor of the Netherlands; was but nineteen years of age when he went over, being his firſt engagement in any public action, yet no leſs than a general of the horſe; and, before that, as himſelf ſays, " He had ſmall grace, and few friends " at court." So that it muſt be now, after their return, that Leiceſter ſet him up a competitor againſt Ralegh, as we are before informed out of ſir Henry Wotton.

But Leiceſter, as great as his power was, could no more bridle the reflections of the populace than Ralegh; an inſtance whereof we have from ſome ancient authority, it ſeems, though in a modern author, who, ſpeaking of Tarleton, the beſt comedian of theſe times in England, tells us, " that " when a pleaſant play he had made was acting " before her majeſty, he pointed at ſir Walter " Ralegh, and ſaid, See the knave commands the " queen;

"queen; for which ſhe corrected him with a "frown; yet he had the confidence to add, that "he was of too much and too intolerable a power; "and, going on with the ſame liberty, he reflect- "ed on the over-great power and riches of the "earl of Leiceſter; which was ſo univerſally ap- "plauded by all who were preſent, that ſhe "thought fit, at that time, to bear theſe reflec- "tions with a ſeeming unconcernedneſs; but yet "was ſo offended, that ſhe forbad Tarleton and "all her jeſters from coming near her table, being "inwardly diſpleaſed with this impudent and un- "reaſonable liberty."

Ralegh ſeems to have little regarded theſe aſperſions, but conſtantly attended his public charge and employments, whether in town or country, as occaſion called him. Accordingly we find him, the latter end of this year in parliament, where, among other weighty concerns, the fate of Mary queen of Scots was determined.

Ralegh, reſolving to perſevere in planting his country of Virginia, prepared a new colony of one hundred and fifty men to be ſent thither, under the charge of Mr. John White, whom he appointed governor, and with him twelve aſſiſtants of the city of Ralegh in Virginia.

Their fleet, conſiſting of three ſail, departed from Portſmouth on the twenty-ſixth of April, 1587, and in leſs than three months following, arrived ſafe at Hatoraſk from whence they went to the Iſle of Roanoak to look for the fifteen men left there by ſir Richard Greenvil the year before, meaning from thence to paſs to the bay of Cheſepiock, where they intended to make their ſeat and fort, according to the charge given them by ſir Walter Ralegh. But, when they came to the north part of the iſland where governor Lane had

built his fort, they found it razed, and the ground-rooms of the dwelling-houſes, which had been alſo erected about it, inhabited by deer, and overgrown with melons, or ſuch like ſort of fruit, which thoſe animals broozed upon.

At Croatoan they were very well received and entertained by the natives, thro' the means of Manteo their countryman. Of theſe they learnt, that the Engliſhmen they were ſeeking, had been treacherouſly ſet upon by a party of the ſavages, who wounded ſome of them, and drove the reſt to ſome remote and obſcure parts of the country.

On the thirteenth of Auguſt, their friend Manteo was, according to the commands of ſir Walter Ralegh, chriſtened in Roanoak, and called lord thereof, and of Daſamonguepeuk, in reward of his faithful ſervices.

Three days after, the governor's daughter Eleanor, wife of Ananias Dare, one of the aſſiſtants, was delivered of a daughter in Roanoak; and the infant was chriſtened there the Sunday following, who, becauſe ſhe was the firſt Creolian, or Chriſtian born in that country, was baptized by the name of Virginia.

Having re-eſtabliſhed their intereſt and alliance with the natives, as far as this ſhort interview would permit, and delivered their ſhips of the proviſions for the colony, the planters began to conſider, they ſhould be in want of freſh ſupplies; therefore, upon ſome difference about chuſing a factor to return for that purpoſe into England, they unanimouſly petitioned the governor to return himſelf; to which he at laſt conſented, and the ſhips, with ſome few of the company, arrived in England, not without ſtorms, ſickneſs, and the death of ſeveral of them by other like caſualties, about the latter end of the ſame year.

It was but five days after this ſecond colony, ſet ſail that Mr. Richard Hakluyt dedicated his tranſlation of the voyages to Florida, before-mentioned, to the right honourable ſir Walter Ralegh, as he ſtiles him, captain of her majeſty's guard, lord warden of the ſtannaries, and her highneſs's lieutenant-general of the county of Cornwall.

In this dedication it will, in ſome meaſure appear, that neither the returns, which might have been made by any mercantile products in Virginia, nor the profits ariſing to him from any Spaniſh prizes, which had been taken at ſea, were equivalent to the great expences he had been at, in ſettling this plantation; and further, that he had received no particular or private aſſiſtance in this enterprize from the queen, becauſe his hopes therein, and her majeſty's regard thereof, are ſo handſomely excited by the ſaid author.

But the ſhips, in which this ſecond colony was tranſported, had not been many days returned into England, before we find Ralegh's thoughts diverted, for awhile, from planting in a foreign country, and engaged upon ſchemes of diſplanting, rather thoſe powerful enemies, who were preparing to root themſelves in his own. For the rumour grew ſtronger every day, of a ſuch a mighty fleet threatening us, as if all Spain and Rome were to land upon our little iſland, and over-run the whole kingdom.

The queen and her privy-council therefore no longer delayed all proper means for the defence of the realm; but, out of all her commanders by land and ſea, appointed thoſe of moſt approved abilities in naval and military affairs, as well as of the greateſt authority in their reſpective counties, to hold conſultations for the ſecurity of her perſon, her people, and their poſſeſſions.

And, as there were ſuch conſultations diſtinctly held by the moſt ancient and experienced commanders at ſea; ſo we find, by the like appointment, a council of war alſo held, on the twenty-ſeventh of November this year, by others in the higheſt eſteem for their knowledge, how to put the forces of the realm in the beſt order, to withſtand any invaſion by land. For this purpoſe were choſen the lord Grey, ſir Francis Knolles, ſir Thomas Leighton, ſir Walter Ralegh, ſir John Norris, ſir Richard Greenvil, ſir Richard Bingham, ſir Roger Williams, and Ralph Lane, eſq.

Beſides this grand ſcheme for the ſafeguard of the kingdom in general, Ralegh ſeems to have had ſome ſpecial regard to ſeveral particular places. For there has been found among the lord Burghley's papers, "A remembrance for the "lord-treaſurer, touching the requeſt of ſir W.R." dated it ſeems this year; which makes requeſt for five pieces of braſs cannon lying at Woolwich; alſo for letters to the marquis of Wincheſter, lieutenant of Dorſetſhire, for a hundred men and arms to defend the caſtle and iſland of Portland, with a ſupply of powder, there being but one laſt.

Further, for removal of the unſerviceable ordnance there to London; and, that the lord marquis would give order for his ſaid hundred men, by his commiſſion directed to the lieutenant of Portland; and he will undertake to collect able men, not of the trained number. Laſtly, for his lordſhip's good remembrance for the towns of Weymouth and Melcomb-Regis.

From whence my author is not only inclined to believe this paper was ſent by ſir Walter Ralegh, but that he was now governor of Portland-caſtle, and had thoſe towns under his care. We may indeed hence believe this paper was written by him; and

and that he not only took thoſe places, but ſeveral others, under his conſideration, that they might be put in the beſt ſtate of defence; but that he was now governor of Portland-Caſtle, or limited to the defence of that place at the time of the invaſion, as might be implied from this author, ſeems not very conſiſtent with his lieutenancy in the Weſt.

But, as much engaged as Ralegh ſeems at this time to have been for the ſafety of the kingdom, he found ſome interval to conſider alſo upon means for the relief of his colony; for, after governor White returned, and had delivered him his letters, with other advertiſements concerning his late voyage, and the ſtate of the planters in Virginia, Ralegh immediately appointed a pinnace to be ſent thither, with all ſuch proviſions as he apprehended they might want; and alſo wrote letters to them, promiſing that he would prepare a good ſupply of ſhipping and men, with all other neceſſaries, to be with them the ſummer following. This pinnace and fleet he accordingly prepared at Biddeford in the weſt of England, under the command of ſir Richard Greenvil; and all things being now ready, they waited only for a fair wind.

In the mean time, the alarm ſo increaſed throughout all England, of that vaſt and formidable armament made by the king of Spain, under the ſanction of the pope's cruſado, for the invaſion and conqueſt of the whole iſland; that moſt of the ſhips of war, then in any readineſs, received orders from the ſtate to attend in their harbours for the defence of their own country; and ſir Richard Greenvil was perſonally commanded not to depart out of Cornwall. Governor White, nevertheleſs, laboured ſo earneſtly for the relief of the colony, that he obtained two ſmall pinnaces,

called the Brave and the Roe, wherein fifteen planters, and all convenient proviſions for thoſe who wintered in the country, were tranſported; but the names of the captains who commanded thoſe veſſels are not remembered.

On the twenty-ſecond of April, 1588, they put over the bar at Biddeford, and the ſame night came to an anchor at the Iſle of Lundy; but the company, minding more to make a gainful voyage than a ſafe one, run in chaſe of prizes; till at laſt one of them was met with by a couple of ſtrong men of war of Rochelle, about fifty leagues to the north-eaſt of Madeira; where, after a bloody fight, the Engliſh were beaten, boarded and rifled. But it is obſervable, the French men were ſo immoderate in poſſeſſing themſelves of their ſpoil, that, by overloading the boats with the freight of the Engliſh ſhips, they ſunk what they were too eager to ſhare. In this maimed, ranſacked, and ragged condition, the ſaid ſhip returned to England in a month's time; and about three weeks after returned the other, having perhaps ſuffered as much, at leaſt, without performing the intended voyage; to the diſtreſs of the planters abroad, and diſpleaſure of their patron at home.

In the mean time the king of France ſent queen Elizabeth a meſſage, aſſuring her, that the tempeſt, which had been gathering in Spain for three years, would certainly break very ſpeedily upon her kingdom: therefore adviſed her to make the beſt preparation ſhe could for its defence. Nor did the king of Spain keep it now any longer a ſecret, having this year publiſhed at Liſbon an ample and oſtentatious account of this Invincible Armada, as the Spaniards themſelves had called it; wherein it appears, the whole fleet conſiſted of one hundred

hundred and thirty, or according to ſir Walter Ralegh and Hugo Grotius, one hundred and fotry ſail; ſome few tenders, or others, joining them by the way, being perhaps omitted in the Spaniſh liſt: carrying, by the generality of accounts, above 2,600 pieces of braſs and iron ordnance; near nineteen thouſand ſoldiers; between eight and nine thouſand ſailors, beſides officers, prieſts, galley-ſlaves, ſervants, and other attendants; amounting in all to about thirty thouſand perſons; or, according to the confeſſion of Don Diego Piementelli, one of their own commanders, who was driven into Zealand, the whole fleet, army, &c. were no leſs than thirty-two thouſand men; and coſt the king of Spain thirty thouſand ducats every day. The general of this mighty navy was the duke of Medina Sidonia, knight of the Golden Fleece; and John Martines de Ricalde was chief admiral.

In Flanders, the prince of Parma was alſo making great preparations to join this armada; had gathered up an army conſiſting of more than one hundred, ſome ſay two hundred companies of foot, and four thouſand horſe, and was very buſy in making rafts, ferry-boats, floating bridges, portcullices, gabions, and what not?

Nor were they idle in England; for how well the directions of the council of war aforeſaid were put in execution, and how far Ralegh may be preſumed to have been engaged among the moſt indefatigable in this ſervice, is to be inferred from the words of that author, who ſays, "In a very "ſhort time the whole kingdom, and every cor-"ner, were ſpeedily furniſhed with armed people "on horſeback and on foot; and thoſe conti-"nually trained, exerciſed, and put into bands

"in ſuch warlike manner, as in no age ever was "before in this realm."

And, a little further, "That all concurred in "one mind, to be in readineſs to ſerve for the "realm; and ſome one country was able to make "a ſufficient army of twenty thouſand men fit to "fight, and fifteen thouſand of them well armed "and weaponed, and, in ſome countries, the "number of forty thouſand able men, that the "maritime countries from Cornwall all along "ſouthward to Kent, and from thence eaſtward "to Lincolnſhire, were ſo furniſhed with ſoldiers, "both of themſelves, and with reſort from their "next ſhires, as there was no place to be doubt-"ed for landing of any foreign forces, but there "were within forty-eight hours to come to the "place above twenty thouſand fighting men on "horſeback and on foot, with all manner of am-"munition, proviſion, and carriages, under the "principal nobles of the countries, and captains "of the greateſt knowledge."

Beſides theſe armies for the maritime countries, the city of London exerciſed before the queen ten thouſand men, and had ſeveral thouſands more in readineſs; that there was alſo two great armies raiſed, whereof one was encamped at Tilbury in Eſſex, between the city and the mouth of the Thames, conſiſting of twenty-two thouſand foot and a thouſand horſe, under the command of the earl of Leiceſter.

The queen reviewed this camp ſeveral times, dined, made orations in it, and lodged in the borders of it. The other army, conſiſting of thirty-four thouſand foot and two thouſand horſe, commanded by the lord Hunſdon, was planted about the queen's own perſon. And it encreaſed daily by the ſeveral bands and troops, which were led

led from the inland counties by ſuch noblemen, knights, and gentlemen, as had no ſpecial charge or government in their reſpective counties; while the young earl of Eſſex, and others among them, entertained her majeſty with tiltings and tourneys, barriers, mock-fights, and ſuch like arts, as in public are uſed to render men popular.

But the lieutenants of the maritime counties were otherwiſe employed. And, as the earl of Pembroke had been aſſiduous in levying the forces of Wilts and Somerſetſhire, and the earl of Bath thoſe of Devonſhire; ſo Ralegh ſeems to have been no leſs forward and induſtrious in raiſing and reducing thoſe of Cornwall to the beſt order and diſcipline for the ſervice of his country, againſt the common enemy; notwithſtanding what he might have done, as has been ſaid before, at Portland: and, like the reſt of the lords-lieutenant, to have ſent up conſtantly his certificates to the queen of the numbers that were aſſembled; the poſture they were in; the proviſions they were ſupplied with; or thoſe whereof they ſtood in need.

But notwithſtanding all theſe land-preparations, which moved ſome ſpeculative warriors at court to think a ſea force unneceſſary, as if the Engliſh were able to cut the Spaniards to pieces in landing, or when they were aſhore, and ſeize their ſhips at the ſame time; ſir Walter Ralegh knew better what another kingdom might do, even againſt England, by the advantage of a fleet, if we have none; no man having ſo ſolidly reſolved as himſelf that weighty queſtion, "Whether Eng-"land, without the help of a fleet, is able to pre-"vent an enemy from landing?" He knew that ſhips, without putting themſelves out of breath, will eaſily out-run the ſoldiers that coaſt them:

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he knew that a fleet, after ſun-ſet, may be ſeen at the Lizard, and by the next morning at Portland, which an army ſhould be ſix days in marching; and conſequently, that the ſailor may chuſe his landing-place, where there are no ſoldiers that can oppoſe him: and, even ſuppoſing an invader ſhould offer to land near the place where our greateſt army was ready to receive him, Ralegh doubted, when the choice of all our trained-bands and of officers were drawn together, as at Tilbury, to attend the perſon of the queen, and to defend the city of London, whether thoſe that ſhould remain to guard the coaſt could be of any ſuch force as to encounter an army like that which the prince of Parma ſhould have landed in England.

By ſea therefore all poſſible defence was likewiſe made, and the chief command was very properly conferred on the lord-admiral Howard, who, hearing the Invincible Armada was upon the point of hoiſting ſail, ſent ſir Francis Drake, his vice-admiral, with fifty-ſix ſhips well appointed, to the weſtern parts, and himſelf arrived there on the twenty-third of May, with more, which made up the fleet about a hundred ſail; while the lord Henry Seymour was ſent to lie with forty Engliſh and Dutch ſhips (according to Camden) between Dover and Calais, to intercept the prince of Parma.

The Invincible Armada looſed anchor from Liſbon four days before; but met with ſuch ſtorms, ſickneſs, and other diſaſters, that the lord-admiral put forth towards Spain, in hopes of ſurpriſing them in their diſtreſs; till more maturely conſidering they might paſs by undiſcovered, he returned to Plymouth, and ſuffered his men to relieve themſelves on ſhore.

The queen had received ſuch aſſurance they were ſo diſabled from coming this year by that ſtorm,

ſtorm, that ſhe made ſecretary Walſingham ſend for four of her firſt-rate ſhips to be brought home to Chatham. But their return was prevented by the intelligence which captain Thomas Fleming brought into the harbour on the nineteenth of July, that he had diſcovered the enemy approaching from the Lizard-Point in Cornwall.

The captains and commanders were then, it ſeems, at bowls upon the Hoe at Plymouth; and the tradition goes, that Drake was eager to ſee the game up; but was ſoon prevailed on to go and play out the rubbers with the Spaniards. All hands were now at work to warp out the ſhips, which, with the admirable induſtry of the ſeamen, was very ſpeedily performed, the wind blowing ſtiffly into the haven from the ſouth-weſt.

The lord-admiral, with the few he could then get ready, lay all night in the road. Next day, about fifty or threeſcore more joined him, and at noon they ken'd the Spaniſh fleet; ſome with lofty turrets and decks rear'd one above another; and others rowed along with two or three hundred oars a-piece; all advancing with their Spaniſh gravity, the wind being abated, in a ſemi-circular order, and extended ſeven miles from end to end.

The Engliſh ſuffered them all to paſs by, ſo got the advantage of the wind, when they began to chaſe them in the rear; nor did the Spaniards offer to land at Plymouth, their commiſſion being to join the prince of Parma, and ſail directly to London.

The next day, which was the twenty-firſt of July, the lord-admiral ſent out a pinnace called the Defiance, and begun the fight. This, it is apprehended, was near the Eddiſtone; for there we have account of the firſt conflict, and of the firſt Spaniſh ſhip that was taken or ſunk. Then

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the lord-admiral, in the Ark-Royal, Drake in the Revenge, with Hawkins, Forbiſher, and others, having kept a conſtant fire upon the enemy for two hours together, withdrew, forty of their ſhips not being yet come up.

In this engagement, the Spaniards, by endeavouring to circle in and ſhelter one of their diſabled galleons, ſhe had her foremaſt broken, and was left behind, which Drake took the next day, with Don Pedro de Valdez, and other nobles in her, beſides fifty-five thouſand ducats, which were ſhared among his ſailors. Immediately after, another of their greateſt ſhips was ſet on fire, with all the people in her, and yet the powder eſcaped.

But how the lord-admiral, all the firſt night, followed the Spaniſh lanthorn, inſtead of Drake's into their fleet, while Drake, at the ſame time, was making another miſtaken purſuit; and how the Ark-Royal followed the Spaniſh fleet alſo the ſecond night, ſo far, almoſt alone, that it was the afternoon following before the Engliſh fleet overtook her; with other particulars, we leave to the more ample accounts of this engagement, in order to attend the motions of ſir Walter Ralegh; who, from being at firſt the neareſt, now growing impatient at being the moſt remote from the enemy, appears to have committed his charge by land to proper officers, or detached part thereof to march up nearer the Spaniards, and, with a gallant company of nobles and gentlemen, in ſeveral ſhips, to have joined the Engliſh fleet; that is to ſay, on the twenty-third of July, when the Spaniſh fleet was advanced over-againſt Portland; where, this whole day being one continued engagement from morning till night, it proved the moſt general and bloody fight of any between them in the Britiſh channel; and here, after the

taking

taking of a great Venetian ſhip, and others of leſſer bulk, the Spaniards were driven from all intention of aſſaulting the Engliſh, till they had joined the prince of Parma; for, during this fight, the Engliſh navy increaſed; and, from all the havens of the realm, ſhips and men reſorted to it; for they all, with one accord, came flocking thither (to Portland) as to a ſet field, where immortal fame and glory was to be attained, and faithful ſervice to be performed to their prince and country.

In which number, having mentioned the earls of Oxford, Northumberland, and Cumberland, he alſo names ſir Walter Ralegh, among the foremoſt of near twenty other knights and gentlemen, whereby the Engliſh ſhips were augmented to one hundred ſail; and doubtleſs, by ſome of thoſe Camden mentioned to have been left behind in Plymouth-Sound, with which Ralegh very probably advanced.

Theſe, ever aſunder, and always in motion, ſerved on every ſide to annoy the enemy; now preſenting a broad-ſide, and ſheering off; then tacking about, and diſcharging the other; in ſuch ſort, that ſir Henry Wotton called it a morrice-dance upon the waters, while the ſluggiſh and unweildy caſtles of the enemy cluſtered and hampered together, could only offer offence from one diſabled ſide; and that, when they had done, flew over the Engliſhmen's heads.

Camden tells us, that in this day's engagement, the lord-admiral was adviſed by ſome of his officers, with more heat than diſcretion, to grapple with and board the enemy.

Now Ralegh, having made ſome excellent animadverſions upon this very circumſtance, goes nigh to prove out of his own words, that he was not only in this day's engagement,; but, that the

the counſel he might thence appear to have given, greatly contributed to the ſucceſs of it. He has ſhewn how well he knew, that in ſuch caſe the advantage of weapons would be likelieſt to carry it, whereof the enemy was provided with far the greateſt number: alſo, that in ſuch cloſe fight, how liable the leſſer ſhips were to be cruſhed by the greater; that theſe, by their very height, muſt have further advantage over thoſe that endeavoured to board them from below: and laſtly, in theſe of more bulk and breadth, being alſo more firm and more ſteady, thoſe who could beſt keep their feet, would probably be beſt able to uſe their hands.

Next day the Spaniards were glad to lie by, and the Engliſh no leſs pleaſed with the ceſſation, that they might take the opportunity of ſending to ſhore for a recruit of ammunition; and this, being a circumſtance taken notice of alſo by Ralegh himſelf, further confirms his having been now among them.

The twenty-fifth of July, the Engliſh had another ſharp engagement with the Spaniſh admiral, and the three great galeaſſes at the Iſle of Wight, in which Camden mentions the taking of a Portugueſe galleon; and that, from this time the galleaſſes durſt not venture upon any new engagement; but, cloſing themſelves up again in a rundel, as they called it, made the beſt of their way to tell the prince of Parma how they had been treated. The Engliſh fleet followed, and kept playing upon their rear all the next day, having determined to forbear any cloſer engagement till they came to the Britiſh Frith, or Streights of Calais, where the lord Seymour expected their arrival.

But,

"But, ſo far was this Invincible Armada from "alarming the ſea-coaſts, ſays Camden, that the "Engliſh gentry of the younger ſort entered them-"ſelves volunteers, and, leaving their friends and "families, did, with incredible chearfulneſs, hire "ſhips at their own charge, and in pure love to "their country, joined the grand fleet in vaſt num-"bers."

And here Camden names thoſe nobles and ſome of thoſe gentlemen, with Ralegh among them, who compoſed the ſquadron before-mentioned, as if it entered but now from Dover, or ſome of thoſe ports; not that he confines their entrance to this day, otherwiſe than naming them under it, or any other way ſuggeſts, they did not join the grand fleet three days before; but ſeems, by remembring them in this place, to have believed they were moſt conſpicuous, or in greateſt number at this time, unleſs he poſtponed the mention of them to a day, that was leaſt thronged with circumſtances of action.

Indeed, that this noble ſquadron of volunteers was united to the queen's navy, when ſuch valiant ſervices were performed againſt the Spaniards in the great fight before Calais, another writer alſo, greatly to their commendation agrees; but neither is he ſo expreſſive as to ſatisfy us it was the firſt appearance they made; and that they were not before at Portland. For, having mentioned the earls of Cumberland, Northumberland, and other gentlemen of diſtinction, who, without any charge or knowledge of the queen, joined the fleet before Calais, and ventured their lives in the ſaid engagement; he goes on to obſerve, how earneſt all ranks and degrees were; by inſtancing alſo, "That the earl of Oxford, one "of the moſt ancient nobles in this land, went to ſea,

" ſea, and ſerved the queen among them, as did " Robert Cecil, lord Dudley, and ſir Walter Ra- " legh, a gentleman of the queen's privy-cham- " ber, ſays he, and in his company a great num- " ber of young gentlemen; among whom were " William Cecil, Edward Darcy, and Arthur " Gorge;" the ſame perſons mentioned with others by Camden, and alſo in larger number by the Dutch hiſtorian above quoted, three days before.

" With the recital of whom, I only ſhew you " (continues the laſt mentioned author, the let- " ter-writer) how far we have been deceived to " think, that we ſhould have had a party here " for us, when, as you behold, both by land and " ſea, all ſorts of men were ſo ready, at their own " charges, without either commandment or en- " tertainment, to adventure alſo their lives in de- " fence of the queen and the realm."

From hence it appears, this ſquadron muſt have alſo been at the final overthrow of the Spaniſh Armada; which, on the twenty-ſeventh of July, in the evening, anchored before Calais, intending to hold on for Dunkirk, in expectation of the prince of Parma, who was always preparing but never ready; and, the Engliſh following, anchored alſo within culverin-ſhot of them.

Here the lord Seymour joined the Engliſh; and then the lord-admiral's fleet was increaſed to a hundred and forty ſail, ſays Camden; wherein he both exactly agrees with the augmentation thereof at Portland, by theſe volunteers, as we have it from the Dutch hiſtorian there quoted; and alſo excludes all intermediate addition of ſhips, at leaſt, by the number he himſelf has before given us of the lord Seymour's ſquadron.

Next

Next day the Engliſh reſolved, according to the queen's directions, upon the ſtratagem of the fire-ſhips, to burn or diſperſe the Spaniſh navy; and it was put in practice at, or ſoon after midnight, ſo ſucceſsfully, that the enemy, cutting their cables with the utmoſt horror and precipitancy, were, ſome ſcattered by the wind, ſome fell foul of each other, and others ſtruck upon the ſands; the Engliſh chaſing and thundering upon them from all quarters: then was a great galleaſs taken by captain Preſton, its commander Moncada ſlain, and a booty of near as much gold fell to the conquerors, as was taken in another before-mentioned.

On the twenty-ninth of July, the Spaniards ranged themſelves into the beſt order they could within ſight of Graveling; hither the Engliſh fleet alſo purſued them, and here the Spaniards received their laſt fatal adieu, by inceſſant and numberleſs damages from the Engliſh cannon the greateſt part of the day, till their galleons, galleaſſes, gallies, urcas, and zabras, were ſo miſerably ſhattered, having their hulls pierced through and through, their oars and rudders cut away, their tackling all rent, and their maſts broken, that ſome were deſerted as unſerviceable, ſome ſunk with the crew that was in them, and others retiring upon the neighbouring coaſts, were ſeized and plundered by the inhabitants; while thoſe, that had ability left them, moſt prudently employed it in running away.

The Engliſh ſtill followed them into the northern ſeas, even beyond the latitude of fifty-ſeven degrees, and, leaving them paſt all thoughts of the prince of Parma, returned on the fourth of Auguſt; when the violent ſtorms that aroſe, reſumed their cauſe, and compleated their victory; for, by the tempeſts, ſhipwrecks, ſickneſs, and

famine in their dangerous paſſage homewards, they ſuſtained greater loſſes than even all they had met with throughout the narrow ſeas.

We ſhall cloſe our account of this invaſion, with the ſummary of it, which was ſoon after publiſhed to the world, by ſir W. Ralegh himſelf, where, giving the honour of the victory to the courage and conduct of the lord-admiral Howard, he ſays, that "notwithſtanding the victories they pretended to "have obtained, it was ſoon manifeſted to all na-"tions, how the navy, which they had termed "Invincible, conſiſting of one hundred and forty "ſail, was, by thirty of the queen's ſhips of war, "and a few merchant-men, beaten and ſhuffled "together, even from the Lizard-Point in Corn-"wall, to Portland, where they ſhamefully left "Don Pedro de Valdez with his mighty ſhip; "from Portland to Calais, where they loſt Hugo "de Moncada, with the gallies of which he was "captain; and from Calais, driven with ſquibs "from their anchors, were chaſed out of the ſight "of England, round about Scotland and Ireland; "where, for the ſympathy of their barbarous re-"ligion, hoping to find ſuccour and aſſiſtance, a "great part of them were cruſh'd againſt the "rocks; and thoſe others who landed (being very "many in number) were notwithſtanding broken, "ſlain, and taken; and ſo ſent from village to "village, coupled in halters, to be ſhipped into "England; where her majeſty, of her princely "and invincible diſpoſition, diſdaining to put "them to death, and ſcorning either to retain or "entertain them, they were all ſent back again to "their own country, to witneſs and recount the "worthy atchievements of their invincible navy."

The

The ſervices of ſir Walter Ralegh againſt this invaſion, his diligence in regulating the forces of the land, and his intereſt in ſtrengthening thoſe of the ſea; the expence he was at, and the dangers he voluntarily incurred, however undiſtinguiſhed, more than is above expreſſed by our common hiſtorians, and thoſe few inaccurate accounts thereof, which are deſcended to us; were yet received with ſuch approbation by the queen, that ſhe ſeems, as ſome recompence for them, to have this year made a conſiderable augmentation to his patent of wines; as if he had, beſides the grant before-mentioned, another now alſo beſtowed upon him for tonnage and poundage upon thoſe liquors, except it is the ſame patent with the former, only renewed this year, or wrong dated in the author who mentions it.

Be it as it ſhould, this patent ſeems to have been one of the moſt beneficial favours which Ralegh ever received of the queen, and might, perhaps, exceed in profit the penſion which ſhe ſettled on the lord-admiral himſelf for his conduct and courage in the ſaid overthrow. This benefit Ralegh enjoyed as long as ſhe lived; though, towards the cloſe of her reign, the number of ſuch like grants to others, being very much increaſed, they were inveighed againſt in parliament as grievous and burdenſome monopolies, by thoſe chiefly, who had not the merit or intereſt to procure any for themſelves.

Sir Robert Naunton tells us, in his concluſion of Ralegh's character, with relation to the grants he thus obtained; "That though he gained "much at the court, yet he took it not out of the "Exchequer, or merely out of the queen's purſe; "but by his wit, and the help of the prerogative; "for the queen was never profuſe in delivering

" out her treaſures; but paid many, and moſt of " her ſervants, part in money, and the reſt with " grace."

We meet with another office, which Ralegh himſelf erected, no leſs praiſe-worthy than this was profitable to him. For one writer, in the ſhort account he gives of him, having ſpoken of the diviſion he made of his time, in allowing five hours to ſleep, four to reading, two for diſcourſe, and the reſt to buſineſs, and other neceſſaries; and, having hinted at the diverſity of his correſpondencies, intelligence, and the like, ſays, " That, in the capacity of an agency for all ſorts " of perſons, he ſet up a kind of office of ad- " dreſs." And further, " That conſidering the " diſpatch of ſuch variety of engagements in the " former part of his life, one muſt be much to " ſeek how a man of ſo many actions ſhould write " any thing, and one of ſo many writings, ſhould " do any thing."

By another little hint, that has been elſewhere preſerved, we may conceive, this office chiefly reſpected a more liberal intercourſe, a nobler mutuality of advertiſement, than would, perhaps, admit of all ſorts of perſons; and ſuch as advanced rather to the improvement of men themſelves, than their means.

But this ſuggeſtion is drawn only from comparing it with the general tendency of thoſe other ſchemes; among which, I once ſaw it mentioned, in a letter written by an ingenious perſon of great note for his writings to a nobleman, who had the greateſt correſpondence with ſuch perſons of any in his time; recommending, " That long dried " fountain of communication, which Montaigne " firſt propoſed, ſir Walter Ralegh put in prac- " tice, and Mr. Hartlib endeavoured to revive."

Don

Don Antonio, king of Portugal, who had been expelled from his dominions by king Philip, and was now in London, ſoon after the ſignal overthrow of the armada above-mentioned, took this opportunity to renew his motion to queen Elizabeth for her aſſiſtance towards his reſtoration; which he propounded to the lord-treaſurer in a letter full of liberal offers, written in the Portugueſe language, all with his own hand.

The queen not only conſented to the enterprize, as thinking it more convenient to return the late viſit of the Spaniards in their own country, than ſuffer them to repeat it here, but lent ſix of her men of war, and diſburſed ſixty thouſand pounds towards defraying the charges thereof.

This encouragement, and the late provocation, ſo ſpirited up the warlike men of the kingdom, and Ralegh among the reſt, to become volunteers therein, that they augmented the number of the ſaid ſhips with a hundred and twenty ſail more, and manned them with fourteen or fifteen thouſand ſoldiers and ſailors at their own further expence, committing the charge by ſea to ſir Francis Drake, and that by land to ſir John Norris, who were probably the moſt conſiderable contributors to the enterprize.

But firſt Ralegh took care for the relief of his plantation in Virginia, which, that he might more effectually ſecure than could be expected from his own ſingle aſſiſtance, eſpecially after the many heavy diſburſments he had made, and the great diſappointment the colony muſt doubtleſs have received by miſſing of the laſt ſupplies he ſent them, through the loſſes which his agents too raſhly brought thereon; he made an aſſignment to divers gentlemen and merchants of London, for continuing the plantation of this new diſcovered

country with Engliſh men. And this was now no leſs prudently done with regard to himſelf, than affectionately with reſpect to the people employed therein; whom, though he generouſly aſſiſted with his advice and intereſt in ſome future proſecutions of this undertaking; yet, theſe proving unproſperous, through the oblique courſes they took at firſt ſetting out upon this new foundation, like that in which they lately failed, it was twenty years from this time, before even a whole company could make a more ſucceſsful and advanced progreſs in this ſettlement, than ſir Walter Ralegh of himſelf alone had done; it having coſt him no leſs than forty thouſand pounds.

As for the expedition before-mentioned, which was ſent out under Drake and Norris, about five weeks after the ſaid aſſignment; that is, on the fourteenth of April, 1589, in which Don Antonio was, by Ralegh, among the reſt, accompanied to Portugal, we need not here be circumſtantial in our account of it; eſpecially as to the action at the Groine, the overthrow of the Spaniard at Puente de Burgus, the taking of Peniche, with the caſtle of Caſcais, the aſſault of Liſbon, and the burning of Vigo; ſince our hiſtorians have not diſtinguiſhed what part Ralegh had therein; in which, perhaps, they ſeem not ſo grateful to him, as he was to his aſſociates; but particularly in not mentioning him at the taking of that great number of eaſterling hulks, and other ſhips, laden with Spaniſh goods, proviſions and ammunition, for a new invaſion of England, which, from the 2d of June, ſome or other of the adventurers (none are named) continued to bring in to the Engliſh fleet, then lying in the road of Caſcais, for ſix days together.

This fleet of ours was but thinly manned at firſt, and, having loſt ſome thouſands by ſickneſs and

and intemperance with the new wines of thoſe countries; hands could not be ſpared to bring home much above a quarter of thoſe veſſels and their lading, that were thus taken; for ſir Roger Williams, who was a colonel in the land-ſervice of this expedition, has ſaid, in a letter of his ſtill extant, "It is well known, that we had above "two hundred ſail of all ſorts, of which we could "not carry with us above threeſcore for the want "of men."

Hence aroſe, at their return into England, a little contention between Williams and Ralegh; for Ralegh, having taken ſome of theſe prizes, Williams placed in one of them his lieutenant with ſome of his ſoldiers, "without which," ſays Williams, "it could not have been carried into England:" wherefore he would have laid claim, it ſeems, both to the ſhip and its cargo; "this voyage," as he goes on, "having coſt him a thouſand pounds," as it did ſeveral other of the adventurers no doubt. But his claim not being thought reaſonable, the earl of Bath, lieutenant of Devonſhire, diſcharged his men from that veſſel at Dartmouth. Williams, at this, growing very turbulent, and his clamours reaching the queen's ear, procured her diſpleaſure againſt him, which occaſioned his ſaid letter to three of the privy-council; whence this intelligence is extracted.

From this letter, we farther collect, the atchievements of the Engliſh in this voyage ſo well ſatisfied the queen, in the diſablement of the enemy, eſpecially as to their naval powers, that ſhe honoured the commanders, or chief adventurers therein, and ſir Walter Ralegh among the reſt, with a golden chain; for ſir Roger preſumed, the earl of Eſſex (his great friend, as appears in the hiſtories of this expedition) with the reſt who were

in action, would teſtify, "That I deſerve a chain "as well as my fellows," ſays he.

As for the coarſe expreſſion which follows, of "Ralegh's belying his hulk, as he had done the "ark of Noah, the beſt ſhip that ever was," though it may betray ſome want of politeneſs and impetuoſity of diſpoſition in ſir Roger's civil capacity; yet, in the field, and againſt an enemy, thoſe rougher qualities might invigorate his courage and experience, and illuſtrate the military character of the man.

In the latter end of June this year, and ſome weeks before this diſpute, the Engliſh fleet returned home; but Ralegh appears firſt to have touched upon the coaſt of Ireland, probably to make a ſhort viſit to his ſeigniory there, and ſee ſome of his acquaintances among the new ſettlements in the province of Munſter.

Ralegh afterwards formed an enterprize upon Panama, with a deſign alſo of meeting the Spaniſh plate-fleet. The ſcheme he laid down appeared ſo feaſible to her majeſty, having provided no leſs than thirteen ſhips of his own and his aſſociates, all well manned and plentifully furniſhed with arms, proviſions, and all other neceſſaries, that ſhe added to them two of her own men of war, named the Garland and Foreſight; and gave him a commiſſion, conſtituting him general of the fleet. The honour of lieutenant-general was given to ſir John Burgh, a gentleman altogether worthy of the command; and, indeed, all his conſorts, officers, ſoldiers and ſailors, were ſuch as had given ſufficient proof of their valour in ſeveral ſervices.

With theſe ſhips, thus equipped, Ralegh departed in February, the year aforeſaid, to the weſt of England, in order to ſtore himſelf with ſuch further conveniencies as he ſhould need; but the

the weſterly winds blowing for a long time contrary, obliged him to keep harbour ſo many weeks that the beſt ſeaſon for his purpoſe was expired, and much of his proviſions conſumed.

The queen underſtanding how unluckily he was detained, it being the ſixth of May, 1592, before Ralegh could put to ſea, ſent ſir Martin Forbiſher after him, who overtook him the next day, with letters of revocation. But Ralegh finding his honour ſo far engaged in the undertaking of this voyage, interpreting the queen's letters, as if her commands had been propounded in terms of latitude, either to advance or retire at his own diſcretion, would by no means conſent to leave the fleet, which was under ſail. So he continued his courſe upon the ſeas, till he met with a ſhip belonging to Monſ. Gourdon, governor of Calais, in which was one Mr. Nevel Davies, who was returned from a twelve years captivity in Spain; and who aſſured him, there was little hopes of any ſucceſs this year in the Weſt-Indies; for the king of Spain had ſent expreſs orders to all the ports, both of the iſlands and Terra Firma, that no ſhips ſhould ſtir that year, nor any treaſure be laid aboard for Spain.

But neither this diſagreeable news, nor the other diſcouragements, could deter him from proceeding; till, on the eleventh of May, when he was off Cape Finiſter, a moſt violent ſtorm ariſing, ſo ſcattered the greater part of the fleet, and ſunk his boats and pinnaces, that, as the reſt were driven and divided, Ralegh himſelf, in the Garland, was in great danger of being ſwallowed up in the ſea. Hereupon, conſidering the ſeaſon was too far advanced for his enterprize upon Panama, and his victuals too much conſumed; that the ſame conſumption might further diſable him from lying upon the Spaniſh

Spaniſh coaſt, or at the iſlands, to meet with the Indian fleet, for which he had received ſo little encouragement to wait, he made a diviſion of his fleet into two ſquadrons, committing one to the care of ſir John Burgh, and the other to ſir Martin Forbiſher; and gave his inſtructions for ſir Martin, in the Garland, with captain Gifford, captain Thinne, captain Greenvil, and others, to lie off the ſouth cape to terrify and keep the Spaniards on their own coaſt; while ſir John Burgh, with captain Croſs, Thomſon, and others, ſhould lie at the Azores for the Carracks from India.

The ſucceſs of theſe directions was anſwerable to the excellent judgment that contrived them: for the Spaniſh admiral, receiving intelligence that the Engliſh fleet was cruizing upon their coaſt, gathered all his naval power to watch Forbiſher, and defend the ſouthern parts of Spain; while the Carracks, unguarded, were left a prey to ſir John Burgh.

Before the fleet ſeparated, they met, on the Spaniſh coaſt, with a great Biſcayan, called Santa Clara, a ſhip of ſix hundred tons; which, after a fight that laſted pretty long, they maſtered, and found freighted with all ſorts of little iron-work, valued by the Engliſh at ſix or ſeven thouſand pound; but of treble the value to the Spaniards. Having cleared this they ſent to England.

Then ſir John Burgh, in a ſhip of ſir Walter Ralegh's, named the Roebuck, coaſting along towards the ſouth cape of St. Vincent; and, by the way ſpying a ſail, gave her chaſe; which, being a flyboat and good ſailor, drew him far ſouthward before he could fetch her: at laſt, ſhe came under his lee and ſtruck ſail. The maſter confeſſed a great fleet was prepared at St. Lucar and Gadiz; for the rumour of Ralegh's expedition againſt the Weſt-

Weſt-Indies had ſo alarmed the king of Spain, that he raiſed this fleet to oppoſe and encounter him; though, looking for the arrival of his Eaſt-India carracks, he firſt ordered thoſe ſhips to convoy them from the Azores; but, perſuading himſelf that, if Ralegh's fleet ſhould make for the Weſt-Indies, the iſlands would be infeſted only by ſome ſmall men of war, which the carracks of themſelves would be able to cope with, his order was to Don Alphonſo de Baçan to purſue Ralegh's fleet and engage him, what courſe ſoever he held; and the Engliſh ſoon found his information true: for ſir John Burgh, as he returned to his company, deſcried the Spaniſh fleet to ſea-ward of him; which having likewiſe diſcovered him, made full account to bring him into the Spaniſh harbour; but he, with great addreſs eſcaped them, and ſhaped his courſe to the Azores, according to Ralegh's directions. Here he took ſeveral ſmall caravels; but got little intelligence from them.

Arriving at Flores on the twenty-firſt of June, and making to the ſhore of Santa Crux, he found them all in arms; but, ſhewing a white flag, he was accommodated by the inhabitants with whatever he wanted. Here he learned news of the Eaſt-Indian carracks, one of which had lately paſſed by for Liſbon, and that four more were behind. He made after, and ſoon diſcovered the foremoſt, named the Santa Cruz; which was preſſed ſo cloſe upon by the Engliſh that ſhe fired herſelf; but they took, beſides ſome ſpoil, certain priſoners out of her, who confeſſed that, within fifteen days, three other carracks would arrive at the ſame iſland.

Sir John, having taken counſel with his officers, departed ſix or ſeven leagues to the weſt of Flores, cauſing the ſhips of his company to ſpread themſelves

ſelves north and ſouth two leagues diſtant from each other, by which extenſion they could diſcover two whole degrees. Thus they lay till the third of Auguſt, when captain Thompſon firſt ſaw that prodigious great carrack called the Madre de Dios, or Mother of God, one of the greateſt burden belonging to the crown of Portugal.

Captain Thompſon firſt attacked her, but with the loſs of ſeveral men; then ſir John Burgh, in the Roebuck, aforeſaid, intangled her; and ſir Robert Croſs faſtened himſelf to her at the ſame inſtant: but ſir John was forced to diſengage a while, for fear of ſinking, being ſhot under water. At laſt, Croſs fell athwart her all alone, prevented her running aſhore to fire herſelf, as the other had done, and gave the reſt time to come up to his ſuccour; which, after he had fought with her three hours, he received by the lord Cumberland's ſhips; and then, having made a great ſlaughter of the Spaniards, they boarded and poſſeſſed themſelves of her with little difficulty.

Thus this great veſſel was brought ſafe into Dartmouth on the ſeventh of September following, where it daily drew vaſt numbers of ſpectators from all parts to admire its hugeneſs, being far beyond the model of the biggeſt ſhip then known among us, either for war or burden.

But as to the lading, though ſir John Burgh prudently ſeized upon the whole to her majeſty's uſe, to prevent all licentious ſpoil; whereby the treaſure brought home was ſufficient to recompenſe the adventurers coſt and the ſailors peril, the dividends are not known, more than that her majeſty had the largeſt ſhare; and though, through the varieties thereof, our nation was let into the diſcovery of thoſe merchandiſes of which we had before

before but an imperfect knowledge; yet the whole cargo, when it came to be landed and valued in England, fell ſhort above two thirds of the computation which had been made by Ralegh and Hawkins: for a large quantity of jewels were never brought to light; and ſo much of her other goods was alſo purloined by the ſailors, ſoldiers, and officers, that, at her arrival in England, ſhe drew five foot leſs water than ſhe did when ſhe was firſt freighted at Cochin in the Eaſt-Indies: and, indeed, the ſailors boldly confeſſed, "They had "rather truſt their ſouls to a merciful God by per-"jury, than their fortunes to the hands of unmer-"ciful men."

The latter end of this year, and beginning of next, we find ſir Walter Ralegh in the Parliament-houſe, whether returned for a county or a borough does not appear at preſent. A late author of his life obſerves, "That his ſpeeches were full of "reaſon, no man in his days being more a maſter "of language than himſelf;" and matter too, he might have added; none more ſatisfactorily confirming his arguments with facts and examples than he did, even in his unpremeditated ſpeeches, no leſs than in the more deliberate compoſitions of his pen; ſo full of obſervation he was upon all times and countries, and ſo readily he could apply it upon all occaſions; which now procured him great regard as a ſpeaker in the houſe, and afterwards as an author, to the whole world.

Soon after the opening of the ſeſſion, we find him upon the committee for the liberties and privileges of the members, to examine and make report of all caſes touching the elections and returns during the ſaid ſeſſion of parliament; alſo in another againſt popiſh recuſants: and, when the bill for certain ſubſidies to be granted her majeſty was

in

in debate, and ſome members were for having it expreſly diſtinguiſhed in the bill, that the ſaid ſubſidies ſhould be for maintaining a war offenſive and defenſive againſt the Spaniard, that the conqueſts we made over them might be legal and warrantable, ſir Walter Ralegh ſeconded thoſe ſpeeches, and ſaid, "He knew many, who held it not lawful in conſcience, as the time was, to take prizes from the Spaniard; and he knew that, if it might be lawful and open war, there would be more voluntary hands to fight againſt the Spaniard than the queen ſhould ſtand in need of to ſend to ſea." Accordingly he was appointed of the committee for drawing the articles and preamble of the ſaid bill. Moreover, when the neceſſity of the ſaid ſubſidy came to be enforced, Ralegh ſpake for it, not only (as he proteſted) to pleaſe the queen, to whom he was infinitely bound above his deſerts; but for the neceſſity he both ſaw and knew. He very well diſcovered the great ſtrength of Spain, and, to ſhew his mightineſs, he told how he poſſeſſed all the world; and alſo that his malice and ill purpoſe was evident to this realm, he ſhewed how, on every ſide, he had beleaguered us. That, in Denmark, the king being young, had corrupted the council and nobility; ſo as it was very likely he would ſpeed himſelf of ſhipping from thence. In the marine towns of the Low-Countries, and in Norway, he laid in great ſtore of ſhipping. In France, he had the parliament-towns at his command; in Brittany, he had all the beſt havens; and, in Scotland, he had ſo corrupted the nobility, that he had promiſed them forces to aſſiſt the papiſts; that they were ready to join with any foreign forces that would make them ſtrong, to be by themſelves and reſiſt others; for, as he thought, there were not ſix gentlemen of that country of one

one religion. "In his own country, there is all "poſſible preparing; and he is coming with ſixty "gallies, beſides other ſhipping, on purpoſe to "annoy us. We muſt then have no ſhips, if he "invade us riding at anchor; all will be little "enough to withſtand him. At his coming, he "fully reſolveth to get Plymouth, or at leaſt to "poſſeſs ſome of the havens this ſummer within "our land; and Plymouth is a place of moſt "danger, for no ordnance can be carried thither to "remove him, the paſſages will not give leave.

"Now the way to defeat him, is, to ſend a royal "army to ſupplant him in Brittany, and to poſſeſs "ourſelves there; and to ſend a ſtrong navy to "ſea, and to lie upon the Cape, and at Lambuck; "to which places come all his ſhips with riches "from all parts, and then they may ſet upon all "that come. This we are able to do, and un-"doubtedly with fortunate ſucceſs, if we under-"take it."

But ſome diviſion ariſing upon the queſtion, how they ſhould make a motion for this ſupply to the lords, Ralegh made ſo judicious a diſtinction concerning the cauſe of it, and ſo clearly demonſtrated the erroneous manner in which it had been propoſed, that it appears plainly, the ſucceſsful turn which followed was owing to him alone.

After this conference, ſeveral forms of proviſion were propoſed by way of treble ſubſidies, and like proportionable fifteenths and tenths, with other kinds of benevolence. Sir Thomas Cecil was for three ſubſidies to be paid in four years, and to be charged upon men of ten pounds and upwards, to ſpare thoſe who were under. Sir Henry Knivet alledged the poverty of our country againſt the reaſons uſed, and imputed that poverty to the bringing in more foreign wares than we vended commo-

commodities; whereby our money was carried out of our country, by which it was much exhauſted: thereupon he moved for a ſurvey to be taken of all mens lands and goods in England, and ſo much to be yearly levied as might maintain the queen's wars, the proportion being ſet one hundred thouſand pounds yearly; or, if that was diſapproved of, every man, on his word, ſhould deliver in, to his power, the profits of his lands and goods; ſo a proportion to be ceſſed accordingly.

To him who ſpoke of the poverty of the land, from the multitude of beggars, Ralegh gave theſe reaſons: "That the broken companies in Nor-"mandy and the Low-Countries, who returned "maimed hither, never went back again to the "towns from whence they came; for a multitude "of clothiers, taking their looms into their hands, "ſpun their wool themſelves; and, except we "would work for them cheaper than they can make "themſelves they will ſet none to work. This en-"groſſing of ſo many trades into their own hands, "beggars ſo many as uſually lived by the trade."

As for the ſurveying of ſo many mens eſtates, he thought it inconvenient; "for many, being "eſteemed richer than they are, would be found "beggars, and increaſe the opinion of their num-"ber by loſing their credit, which is now their "wealth."

He further reported, of his own knowledge, That the weſt country, ſince the parliament begun, had taken from them the worth of four hundred and forty thouſand pounds; and, that thoſe of Newcaſtle lay ſtill for fear, becauſe the Bourdeaux fleet was taken this year by the enemy. "For "the enemy approaching us, and being become "our neighbour, our trades will decay every day, "and ſo our poverty increaſes. Thus it is moſt "certain,

"certain, the longer we defer aid, the leſs able "we ſhall be to yield to it; yet, in the end, the "the greater aid will be required; ſo, ſparing "them now, we ſhall charge them when they ſhall "be leſs able to bear it; for it is moſt true, one "hundred thouſand pounds would have done the "laſt year, that which three will not now do; and "three will do this year that which ſix will not "do hereafter."

In the concluſion, he agreed to three ſubſidies; in them, the three-pound men were to be ſpared; the ſum which came from them, to be levied upon thoſe of ten pounds and upwards; and the payment to be ſpeedy. Mr. Francis Bacon aſſented to three ſubſidies, but not to their payments under ſix years: but, to his reaſons of difficulty and danger in a ſpeedier levy, which might hazard a double peril, by making it four ſhillings in the pound, a double payment; Ralegh anſwered, "I ſee no "reaſon that the ſuſpicion of diſcontentment ſhould "croſs the proviſion for the preſent danger. The "time is now more dangerous than it was in eighty-"eight; for then the Spaniard, coming from "Spain, was to paſs dangerous ſeas, and had no "place of retreat or relief if he failed: but now "he has in Brittany great ſtore of ſhipping; a land-"ing-place in Scotland; and men and horſes there "as good as any we have: but for the difficulty "in getting this ſubſidy, I think it ſeems more "difficult in ſpeaking, than it would be in ga-"thering." In fine, it was carried agreeable to his propoſitions.

Soon after there was a bill read in the houſe againſt counterfeiting the hands of counſellors or principal officers; and, upon the ſecond reading, it was committed to ſir John Woolley and ſir Walter Ralegh, with others: but, after a meeting in

the Middle-Temple hall, ſir John made report to the Houſe, that himſelf, and the reſidue of the committee, upon the end of their examination, did think it a very dangerous bill, and not fit to paſs the Houſe: but the bill againſt aliens ſelling foreign wares among us by retail, produced ſeveral weighty arguments and ſpeeches in the Houſe, which have been tranſmitted to us.

Upon this occaſion, ſir Walter Ralegh made a ſpeech which hath often been quoted in his praiſe, both for his knowledge in the intereſt of his country, and his unbiaſſed affection in exerting it. As for the bill, he was one to whom it was commited, and who, after the deliberations of the ſaid committee upon it, offered it again to the Houſe with the addition of a proviſo.

On the twenty-ſeventh of March following, that is to ſay, in the year 1593, it was read the third time; and, after many long ſpeeches, paſſed upon the queſtion, by the diviſion of the Houſe, with the difference of fourſcore voices; the Yeas being one hundred and ſixty-two, the Noes eighty-two.

About a week afterwards there was a bill, for explaining a branch in an act to retain the queen's ſubjects in due obedience, read; and many ſpeeches paſſed in the Houſe before it was committed, through the many imperfections in the preamble and body of the ſaid bill. For it pretended a puniſhment only of the Browniſts and other ſectaries; but, alledging nothing againſt them in particular, contained ſome enſnaring clauſes that might comprehend more innocent perſons.

This year we meet with an infamous libel in print, ſet forth by a Lover of his Country, as he calls himſelf, to expoſe certain miniſters and counſellors of ſtate, who had been inſtrumental in framing that proclamation againſt the ſeminaries which

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was publiſhed about two years before: for the king of Spain having lately founded an Engliſh cloyſter at Valladolid, as a nurſery to ſupply us with treaſon and rebellion; ſo many hopeful ſtocks of that ſpecies were ſoon tranſplanted into England, as occaſioned the the ſaid proclamation to extirpate them. Now this anſwer was publiſhed to calumniate the ſuppoſed authors of it; and, as Ralegh appears, among other very good company, to have his ſhare of the ſlander therein; ſo he might probably have had a hand in thoſe wholeſome articles for the ſafety of the realm, which occaſioned it. For after this libel has reviled the greateſt and wiſeſt miniſters of the nation, it ſeems to have reſerved the quinteſſence for him, who was ſo well able to cruſh the pernicious purpoſes which were daily hatching by the pernicious brood which brought it forth. For Ralegh had given ſuch proofs of his ſincere attachment to religion, that his ſentiments were made uſe of to reform or regulate even the profeſſors of it; yet now his head muſt be turned ſo exceſſively to its detriment, as to provoke this libeller's pious ſpleen againſt nothing leſs than Sir Walter Ralegh's School of Atheiſm; compendiouſly inſinuating, as if truly he was not ſatisfied with being a diſciple, but ſet up for a doctor in his faculty, and won young "gentlemen into his ſaid ſchool; wherein the Old "and New Teſtament were jeſted at, and ſcholars "taught to ſpell God backwards."

Then he complains, "What a miſerable thing "it is, that her majeſty ſhould make laws and pro-"clamations according to theſe ſenſes and opini-"ons." But there may need little pains to blunt the point of this dart, when we conſider that it was ſhot from a jeſuitical bow; for by whom ſhould it be levelled againſt him but Robert Parſons, the

notorious traitor and incendiary, however deeply he diſguiſed himſelf into a Lover of his Country. Nevertheleſs, ſome ten years after, when Ralegh was trampled down by the court, and there was a turn of ſtate to ſerve, this might be a good ſerviceable obloquy enough to upbraid him with, and depreciate him in the eye of the populace: but theſe prejudiced repreſentations will probably be thought of little authority.

Indeed there is a traditional author who accounts for the grounds of this aſperſion in the following words: "Sir Walter Ralegh was the firſt, as I "have heard, who ventured to tack about, and "ſail aloof from the beaten tract of the ſchools; "and who, upon the diſcovery of ſo apparent an "error as a Torrid Zone, intended to proceed in "an inquiſition after more ſolid truths; till the "mediation of ſome, whoſe livelihood lay in hammering ſhrines for this ſuperannuated ſtudy, poſſeſſed queen Elizabeth that ſuch doctrine was "againſt God, no leſs than her father's honour; "whoſe faith, if he owned any, was grounded "upon ſchool-divinity; whereupon ſhe chid him, "who was, by his own confeſſion, ever after "branded with the title of an atheiſt, though a "known aſſertor of God and Providence."

That he was ſuch aſſertor, ſeems to be affirmed by an author, who introduces the apparition of ſir Walter ſpeaking to him in this manner: "Thou "well knoweſt that the world hath, at ſundry "times, caſt a foul and moſt unjuſt aſperſion upon "me for my preſumed denial of a Deity; from "which abominable and horrible crime I was ever "moſt free; and not any man now living better "knows the ſame than thyſelf; in whoſe preſence "I was often accuſtomed highly to praiſe and eſteem "the book of Leſſius, written in proof of the be-

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" ing of a Deity:" ſo requeſts that he would tranſ-
" late the ſame into Engliſh; " which I myſelf," ſays the ghoſt, " had done, if cruel fate had not " untimely cut off the thread of my mortality; " and let the title bear my name, that ſo the readers " may acknowledge it was done by my ſollicita-" tion."

Then the ſaid tranſlator of that book ſays, in his own perſon, to the reader, " It is well known " that ſir Walter was a man of great natural parts, " and yet was ſuſpected of the moſt foul and execra-" ble crime of atheiſm; how truly God and him-" ſelf only knows; yet I have reaſon to think it a " falſe aſperſion."

If thus much is ſaid of Ralegh by an author who knew him, what credit ſhall we pay to another who wrote many years later? Never knew him, produces no authority for the principles he charges upon him; yet pretends to give us the tutor's name from whom he imbibed them, and that a man of no leſs learning and merit than the famous Mr. Thomas Hariot?

This was that Engliſh philoſopher, from whoſe illuſtrious diſcoveries, he, who was the glory of the French philoſophers, is owned to have borrowed much of the light with which he ſhone: this was that excellent mathematician, who, ſays our author Wood, " coming to the knowledge of " this heroic knight, ſir Walter Ralegh, was en-" tertained by him in his family, who allowed him " a yearly penſion, and was inſtructed by him at " leiſure hours in that ſcience."

This was that virtuous and religious man, who, being ſent over by ſir Walter Ralegh with his firſt colony to Virginia, but did not bear him company, as the ſaid author miſtakes, to ſur-

vey the bounds of the Engliſh diſcoveries, with the commodities and cuſtoms of the country, but firſt communicated the goſpel to thoſe heathen inhabitants; and, "in every town where he came, "explained to them the contents of the Bible; "declaring, that therein was ſet forth the true and "only God, and his mighty works; that therein "was contained the true doctrine of ſalvation "through Chriſt; with many particulars of mira-"cles, and chief points of religion, as I was able "then to utter," continues he, "and thought fit "for the time: and, though I told them the book, "materially and of itſelf, was not of ſuch virtue as "I thought they did conceive, but only the doc-"trine therein contained; yet would many be glad "to touch it, to embrace it, to kiſs it, to hold it "to their breaſts and heads, and ſtroke over all "their bodies with it, to ſhew their hungry deſire "of that knowledge which was ſpoken of." Yet this is the man whom the above-cited Anthony Wood charges with having had ſtrange thoughts of the ſcripture; with undervaluing the old ſtory of the creation; with never believing that trite poſition ex nihilo nihil fit; with making a philoſophical theology, wherein he caſt off the Old Teſtament; ſo that conſequently the New would have no foundation. Further, with being a deiſt, and imparting his doctrine to the earl of Northumberland, into whoſe ſervice Ralegh had recommended him, and of whom he alſo received a yearly penſion of one hundred and twenty pounds. Laſtly, with infuſing thoſe principles likewiſe into ſir Walter Ralegh himſelf, when he was compiling his Hiſtory of the World. This laſt inſinuation, and probably all the reſt, is ſurely a manifeſt ſlander, as Wood himſelf muſt have owned, if he had ſufficiently read that Hiſtory of the World; where ſir Walter

Walter Ralegh has, in many places, given ſtronger evidences of his Chriſtian faith, than any of his detractors ever did of theirs.

As for Ralegh, what might not a little ſharpen theſe detractions againſt him, was perhaps a grant about this time made him from the crown of ſome church lands; a courſe of reward uſual with queen Elizabeth towards ſuch as had performed any conſiderable ſervices for the ſtate.

The ſtory, as we are forced to gather it from thoſe authors, by whom it has not been over-favourably told, is, That about the year 1594, the biſhop of Saliſbury, Dr. John Coldwell, who had been bred a phyſician, diſmembered his ſee, by alienating the manor of Sherborn to ſir Walter Ralegh. Sir John Harrington ſpeaks of an ominous preſage to make his tale as affecting as he can to prince Henry, and inſinuates the diſpleaſure even of Heaven againſt Sir Walter Ralegh; where he obſerves, "That ſir Walter "Ralegh, uſing often to ride poſt in theſe days, "upon no ſmall employments, between Ply-"mouth and the court, when Sherborn-caſtle be-"ing right in the way, he caſt ſuch an eye upon "it, as Ahab did upon Naboth's vineyard; and "once above the reſt being talking of it; of the "commodiouſneſs of the place; of the ſtrength "of the ſeat; and how eaſily it might be got from "the biſhoprick; ſuddenly, over and over came "his horſe; that his very face, which was then "thought a very good face, ploughed up the "earth where he fell. This fall was ominous, I "make no queſtion, (ſays he) as the like was ob-"ſerved in the lord Haſtings, &c. But his brother "Adrian would needs have him interpret that, not "as a courtier, but as a conqueror, it preſaged "the quiet poſſeſſion thereof. And this, through "the queen's favour, came to paſs."

For, after Dr. Piers was tranſlated to York, this Dr. Coldwell was elected toſucceed him in the ſee of Saliſbuty; but it lay vacant three years: in which dangerous juncture for denial, all the doctor's church preferments being diſpoſed of, yet before his election was confirmed, ſir Walter Ralegh importuned him to paſs Sherborn to the crown, and effected it; ſo ſhot the good old man (as one of them phraſes it) between wind and water; though indeed, a good round rent was reſerved to the biſhoprick.

Then ſir Walter begged the ſame of the queen, and obtained it; much after the ſame method that ſir William Killigrew got the manor of Crediton from the church of Exeter, by the conſent of biſhop Babington. Ralegh embelliſhed his ſovereign's bounty with great magnificence and commendation; not that he was in danger thereby of falling under the remark he has made on common builders of ſumptuous ſeats, "That men "are rather known by their houſes, than their "houſes by them."

Yet his elegant taſte in building is ſufficiently atteſted by an author who ſurveyed the improvements he made upon this eſtate, when they were freſh and in their ſplendor, and who tells us, "That the queen, having granted the fee-farm "of Sherborn to ſir Walter Ralegh, he began to "build the caſtle very fairly; but, altering his "purpoſe, he built in the park adjoining a moſt "fine houſe, which he beautified with orchards, "gardens, and groves, of much variety and "great delight; ſo that, whether you conſider "the pleaſantneſs of the ſeat, the goodneſs of the "ſoil, or other delicacies belonging to it, it reſts "(ſays he) unparalleled by any in theſe parts."

How he came afterwards to be juggled out of it, may alſo ſufficiently appear when we arrive at the

the latter part of his life. But here we may take an opportunity of remembering a plantation of his, which is ſomewhat obſervable.

A late author mentions it with reſpect to him, but in a diſtant manner; where, telling us, "That "Beddington, near Croydon in Surry, is a neat "curious ſeat, built by ſir Francis Carew." He further adds, "The orchards and gardens are "very pleaſant, and eſpecially famous for the "orange-trees, which have now grown there "above theſe hundred years; being planted in "the open ground, under a moveable court, dur-"ing the winter months: they were the firſt that "were brought into England, by a knight of "that noble family; who deſerves no leſs com-"mendation than Lucullus met with for bringing "cherry and filbert-trees out of Pontus into Italy; for which he is celebrated by Pliny and others.

As to the ſeat at Weſt Horſeley in Surry, there is good authority that it was in the poſſeſſion of his ſon, if not his own; and in the hall of that houſe, there are in ſeveral places of the walls and cieling the arms of Ralegh ſtill viſible. But there is a houſe no farther from London than Iſlington, about a bow's-ſhot on this ſide the church, which, though I think it has no ſuch evidences remaining upon its walls, cielings, or windows, as to prove him to have been its owner, the arms that are ſeen there, above a hundred years old, being of a ſucceeding inhabitant; is yet popularly reported to have been a villa of his.

As for his dwellings in London, he had apartments at court at Somerſet-houſe, mention is made of ſome acquaintance reſorting to him at Durham Houſe in the Strand; he had likewiſe a houſe by the Thames ſide, which might be the ſame; and another at St. James's, or apartments in the court there.

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The truth is, ſir Walter Ralegh did not live ſo long at court, and ſo much about the dazzling beauties in it, without ſometimes yielding to the ſofter paſſions; yet love, which, in ſome great courtiers of thoſe times, was the grand buſineſs of their life, ſeemed only an interlude in his.

There was, among the queen's maids of honour, a beautiful young lady (as her picture repreſents her) named Elizabeth, daughter of ſir Nicholas Throgmorton, an able ſtateſman and embaſſador, whoſe negociations and characters are recorded both by the French and Scotch, as well as Engliſh hiſtorians of thoſe times. With this lady, Ralegh had, it ſeems, an amour; and, as he was a man of great addreſs, won her heart, and even obtained the laſt favour.

This intimacy came at laſt to the queen's knowledge; whether enviouſly betrayed by any female confident; or whether the intrigue could not be long concealed for the fruits of it. But, in ſuch colours this matter of debauching a maid of honour was heightened, that Ralegh was out of favour again, in confinement for ſeveral months; and, when enlarged, forbidden the court; whence the lady alſo was diſmiſſed. Yet, as heinous as this miſdemeanor was in Ralegh, her majeſty did not puniſh it in Leiceſter, Eſſex, and other courtiers, famous for ſuch intrigues; eſpecially the former, who turned off Douglas Sheffield, by whom he had a ſon, to marry the earl of Eſſex's mother. But Ralegh very readily made the moſt honourable reparation he could, by marrying the object of his affection.

It appears they lived together ever after in the moſt exemplary degree of conjugal harmony; and, when he was in his greateſt troubles, there are teſti-

teſtimonies from one, who was otherwiſe none of his greateſt friends, of her extraordinary diligence and fidelity in making intereſt and applications to alleviate them.

While Ralegh was under the diſpleaſure above-mentioned, and in retirement, he projected a farther removal from the court; the better by that diſtance, and ſome memorable exploit, to allay the malice of his enemies, and recover his ſovereign's favour. Some thought this an impolitic courſe; as if his foreign actions could not work ſo effectually to his advantage, as the application of his adverſaries to his diſparagement.

And hereupon ſir Robert Naunton ſays, "That "finding his favour declining, and falling into a "receſs, he undertook a new peregrination to "leave that terra infirma of the court, for that of "the wars, and by declining himſelf, and by ab-"ſence, to expel his and the paſſion of his ene-"mies; which, in court (ſays he) was a ſtrange "device of recovery; but, that he knew there "was ſome ill office done him, that he durſt not "attempt to mind any other ways than by going "aſide, thereby to teach envy a new way of for-"getfulneſs, and not ſo much as to think of him: "howſoever, he had it always in mind never to "forget himſelf; and his device took ſo well, "that, at his return, he came in, as rams do by "going backwards, with the greater ſtrength; "and ſo continued to the laſt, great in her "grace."

Thus alſo ſays another author: "His enemies "of greater rank kept him under; ſometimes in, "ſometimes out; and then he would wiſely de-"cline himſelf out of the court-road: and then "you found him not but by Fame; in voyages to "the Weſt-Indies, Guiana, New Plantations,

"Virginia,

" Virginia, or in ſome expeditions again the Spa-
" niards."

And thus writes a third to the ſame purpoſe: " It is obſervable, that ſir Walter Ralegh was in " and out at court ſo often, that he was common-" ly called the Tennis-ball of Fortune, which ſhe " delighted to ſport with. His enemies perpe-" tually brought him into diſgrace with his miſ-" treſs, and his merit in a little time reſtored him " again to her favour: and, as ſhe always grew " cold to the earl of Eſſex after abſence, ſo ſhe " ever received Ralegh with greater marks of her " eſteem; and he was too hard for his rivals, by " the very means which they intended for his de-" ſtruction."

Certainly, he deſerved ſuch good fortune, beyond all others, of a reſtitution to royal favour, who could ſo much more hazardouſly and heroically than any of them, aſpire to earn it; as now he abundantly manifeſted, in that grand and gallant undertaking, to diſcover and conquer the large, rich, and beautiful empire of Guiana; an enterprize which had baffled the repeated efforts of ſome of the ableſt and moſt renowned captains in Spain for near one hundred years paſt: for, in one of their own authors, we may read the names of many brave commanders, and their commendations for the miſeries they endured, who within that ſpace, had trod this maze, and loſt themſelves, with ſome, five hundred, ſome one thouſand men a-piece, in finding out this country. And yet none of all their own authors have more nobly and liberally celebrated theſe and other ſuch like adventurers of the Spaniſh nation, than Ralegh himſelf has done.

For Ralegh, induſtrious in diving into the cauſes of ſo many failures, having informed himſelf

ſelf what round-about courſes the preceding adventurers had taken to arrive at the heart of the country they ſought, and which was the ſhorteſt way to make a ſucceſsful diſcovery, found that moſt of the Spaniſh attempts in theſe parts had failed, thro' the mutinies and diſcords which they had fomented among themſelves; as moſt of their conqueſts in others, were much owing to the like factions among the Americans: and if "there "was not an expert ſoldier or ſeaman but he con-"ſulted (as one author obſerves upon his charac-"ter in general) nor a printed, or manuſcript diſ-"courſe but he peruſed; whereby it came to paſs, "there were not exacter rules or principles for "both ſervices than he drew."

Much more may we believe he now particularly made uſe of theſe helps and lights to draw thoſe rules and directions by, which this year (laſt mentioned, 1594) he gave to an old officer, captain Whiddon, whoſe experience he had before tried, for a voyage to the country aforeſaid: and this ſame year that captain alſo returned from thence, with ſeveral inducing confirmations of the grandeur and opulency of Guiana, having learnt the ſame from ſome of the grand caſiques, or principal rulers, upon the borders thereof; but not without complaints of ſome barbarous treachery from the Spaniſh governor, who had then got ſome footing there; and, after promiſes of ſuffering the Engliſhmen to furniſh themſelves with what ſupplies they wanted, decoyed ſeveral of them to their deſtruction.

Ralegh had thus more ſpurs than one, inciting him to viſit theſe regions in perſon. And now, this golden country made ſuch invitations, he chearfully determined, in queſt thereof, though through an ocean of difficulties, to waſh away the malice

malice of his adverſaries at court, and render his character more ſecure againſt the little cenſures which ſwarm in that theatre of circumvention, to ſting and feſter ſuperior merit: with ſuch like views Ralegh very ſpeedily fitted out a fleet at a great expence; though the lord-admiral Howard and ſir Robert Cecyl were at the further charge of augmenting it.

We may diſtingniſh five ſhips under him, beſides barges, wherries, and other neceſſary tenders, in his own excellent narrative of this voyage. Whence we underſtand, the ſhip he went in was his own, which he does not name; but the Lion's Whelp, which was the lord-admiral's, was commanded by captain George Gifford; captain Keymis had the command of a galego, beſides a bark, which was committed to captain Croſs, and another to captain Calfield. The whole number of men in this fleet is not mentioned; but the ſelect company of officers, gentlemen, and ſoldiers, he uſed in his diſcoveries, exceeded not one hundred.

Thus prepared, he departed from Plymouth on the ſixth of February following, and made to the Grand Canaries, and ſo to Teneriff, where he waited awhile for the Lion's Whelp, and for captain Amais Preſton. But this captain diſappointed him, and went upon another adventure, which proved ſome diſadvantage in the proſecution of his diſcoveries.

After ſeven or eight days, not ſeeing them, he proceeded for Trinidad, with his own ſhip and captain Croſs's only (for the galego which ſet out with them, lingered behind on the coaſt of Spain) They reached that iſle on the twenty-ſecond of March, and caſt anchor at Point-Curiapan, which

the

the Spaniards called Punta de Gallo, ſituate in eight degrees, or thereabouts.

In the four or five days he continued here, he came not to the ſpeech of any Indian or Spaniard. On the coaſt he ſaw a fire, but for fear of the Spaniards, none of the Indians dared to approach him. Then Ralegh, in his barge, coaſted cloſe along the ſhore, and landed in every cove, the better to know the iſland, while his ſhips kept the channel. From hence he removed in a few days up north-eaſt, to recover that place the Spaniards call Puerto de los Eſpanoles, but the inhabitants Conquerabia; and, as before (revictualling his barge) he left the ſhips, and kept by the ſhore, that he might better ſpeak with the inhabitants, and obſerve the rivers, watering-places, and ports in the iſland; of all which he took draughts as he paſſed along, which he reduced at laſt to one general map.

At Parico he found a freſh-water river, and at Terra de Brea, another port, called by the natives Piche, great quantities of very good oiſters growing upon the branches of certain trees, here ſo numerous, that he travelled for a dozen miles together under them; which enabled him afterwards to rectify the ancient accounts of this tree, and the abſurd conceits of ſome moderns, that it was the tree of knowledge. In ſhort, he coaſted three parts of the iſle of Trinidad, in the month he ſtaid there for captain Preſton, the more exactly to make his draught thereof.

At Puerto de los Eſpanoles he met with his ſhips, and found a company of Spaniards keeping guard at the deſcent, who, in doubt of their ſtrength, offered ſigns of peace. He ſent captain Whiddon to parley with them, whom he afterwards left buried in the iſland to his great grief, being

being a man, ſays Ralegh, moſt honeſt and valiant. From ſome of the Spaniſh ſoldiers, whom he found means to make free of their tongue by the help of wine; and, from one of the Indian rulers, named Cantyman, he gathered what ſtrength the Spaniards were of, and how far it was to the city they had built under their governor Don Antonio de Berreo.

Here he found occaſion of ſtaying awhile; both to have ſome reckoning with Berreo for his treacherous dealings with the Engliſh under Whiddon, and to learn alſo the ſtrength, riches, and paſſages to ſeveral other parts of the country. But, when Ralegh was credibly informed, that the Spaniſh governor had ſent for a recruit of ſoldiers, and how lamentably the natives ſuffered under his cruelties; that the very lords of the country were made his ſlaves; that he had put one of them, named Morequito, to death; that ſeveral others were then lying in chains, and languiſhing under the moſt exquiſite tortures, he found ſufficient occaſion, not only to revenge the loſs of his countrymen, but a good opportunity to gain the hearts of the Indians, by attempting to reſcue them from this yoke of tyranny: therefore he boldly ſet upon the corps du garde, in the duſk of the evening; and, having put them to the ſword, advanced with a hundred men, and, by break of day, took their new city called San Joſeph, which, at the entreaty of the Indians, he ſet on fire.

Then were the natives in confinement ſet at liberty. Among them were five caſiques, or petty kings in thoſe parts. Theſe, all bound together in one chain, almoſt dead with famine, and waſted with torments, having had their naked bodies baſted or dropped over with burning bacon; Ralegh alſo, to his great reputation, delivered from

their captivity; and ſeveral years after, when this, with Ralegh's other noble acts among theſe Indians, was mentioned by ſome of our Engliſh adventurers to Guiana, it was gratefully acknowledged by them to his honour; when alſo, one of their braveſt princes, who had been in England, and chriſtened Ragapo, came above a hundred miles to viſit them, for the great love he bore to Ralegh; manifeſtly ſhewing, how ſtrongly he had engaged their affection and deſires for his return to be their ruler and protector. But, for the governor, who had impriſoned ſo many of them, he was now become a priſoner himſelf; and Ralegh, by his courteous treatment of him, reaped the fruit of that knowledge and experience he had gathered in the many years he had conſumed, with great ſums of money, upon the diſcovery of Guiana.

The ſame day that Ralegh made this conqueſt, arrived captain Gifford and captain Keymis, and in their ſhips divers gentlemen and others, which, to his little army, was a great ſuccour and ſolace. Then proceeding upon his diſcovery, Ralegh firſt called all the chief of the iſland together, who were enemies to the Spaniards; for ſome of them Berreo had brought out of other countries, and planted there, to eat out and waſte the natives; then, by his Indian interpreter, whom he carried out of England, he made them underſtand, "he was the "ſervant of a queen, who was the greateſt caſique "of the north, and a virgin who had more caſiqui "under her than there were trees in that iſland: "that ſhe was an enemy to the Caſtellani, in re-"gard of their tyranny and oppreſſion; and, hav-"ing freed all the coaſts of the northern world "from their ſervitude, had ſent him to free them "alſo; and withal, to defend the country of Gui-"ana from their invaſion and conqueſt."

Then he ſhewed them her majeſty's picture, which they ſo admired and honoured, that it had been eaſy for him to have made them idolatrous thereof. The like and larger ſpeeches he made in ſolemn manner to the reſt of the nations, both in his paſſage to Guiana and to thoſe of the borders: ſo, as in that part of the world the queen of England's fame was diffuſed with great admiration. This done, Ralegh returned to Curiapan, and though he had learned of Berreo, that Guiana was ſome hundred miles further than the accounts he received of captain Whiddon had repreſented it, he kept the knowledge thereof from his company, whom he feared would have been diſcouraged thereby from proſecuting the diſcovery.

When Ralegh had further gathered from Berreo the proceedings of the paſt adventurers and his own; of all which he gives us a ſuccinct and curious hiſtory, he told him he was come upon the ſame deſign, and was reſolved to ſee Guiana.

Berreo uſed many arguments to diſſuade him; as that he muſt venture in very light and ſmall boats to paſs ſo many dangerous ſhallows, and could not carry victuals enough above half the way: that none of the country would ſpeak with him; and, if he followed them, would burn their towns; beſides, the way was long, the winter at hand, and the rivers beginning to ſwell; but, above all, that the kings and lords, who bordered upon Guiana, had decreed, that none of them ſhould trade with any Chriſtians for gold, becauſe the ſame would be their own overthrow.

Ralegh, reſolving however to make trial, directed his vice-admiral, captain Gifford, and captain Calfield, to turn eaſtward againſt the mouth of the river Capuri, and gave them inſtructions to anchor at the edge of the ſhoal, and, upon the

beſt of the flood to thruſt over; but they laboured in vain: nor did the flood continue ſo long, but the water fell before they could have paſſed the ſands.

Then Ralegh ſent one King, maſter of the Lion's Whelp, to try another branch, called the Amana, if either of the ſmall ſhips would enter; but, when he came to the mouth, he found it as the reſt. After him went John Dowglaſs, who diſcovered four goodly entrances; but all ſhoal'd and ſhallow in the bays leading to them.

In the mean time Ralegh, fearing the worſt, cauſed his carpenters to cut down an old galego boat, to fit her with banks for oars, and ſo as ſhe might draw but five feet; in this went Ralegh, with gentlemen and officers to the number of three-ſcore. In the Lion's Whelp boat and wherry they carried twenty; captain Calfield, in his wherry, carried ten; and a barge of Ralegh's ten more. This was all the means they had, having left their ſhips at Curiapan, to carry a hundred men, with weapons and proviſions for a month, expoſed to all the extremes of the weather, all the hazards of the water; to lie open to the air, and upon hard boards by night; in ſtorms of rain, or under the burning ſun by day; to ſwell the wet cloaths of ſo many crowded together; the dreſſing of their food, and that moſtly ſtale fiſh, in the ſame place; to be in ſuch a labyrinth of rivers, in ſuch a remote and unknown region; what priſon could be more loathſome and unhealthy? what proſpect more fearful and deſolate?

At firſt ſetting out, they had twenty miles of a high ſea to croſs in theſe ſcanty boats; ſo that they were driven before the wind into the bottom of the bay of Guanipa, inhabited by inhuman cannibals,

who ſhot poiſoned arrows: and from thence to enter one of the rivers of which Dowglaſs had brought tidings.

After four days, they were paſt ebbing and flowing, and might have wandered a whole year about, and never been able to extricate themſelves, in ſuch a general confluence, or rendezvous of ſtreams were they now bewildered, and ſo reſembling one another, as not to be diſtinguiſhed; but imperceptibly circulating and driving them about into the ſame places where they had been before; paſſing between many iſlands and ſtreights, whoſe borders were ſo thickly arched and overſhadowed with trees, as bounded their ſight to the breadth of the river and length of the avenue, while the gloomineſs of the proſpect added horror to the loneſomeneſs of the place.

At length, on the twenty-ſecond of May 1595, they fell into a river; which, becauſe it had no name, they called the Red-croſs river, theſe being the firſt Chriſtians who ever entered the ſame. When they drew into the creek, which led to a town upon this river, their Indian pilot, named Ferdinando, landing, was ſet upon by his countrymen, who hunted him with dogs; whereupon Ralegh ſeized an old man paſſing that way, and threatened to cut off his head if he would not procure his pilot's liberty: but he, by his agility, ſoon eſcaped them, and ſwam to Ralegh's barge: however, they kept the old man, and uſed him kindly, aſſuring themſelves of uſeful information from a native ſo long converſant in thoſe parts. And, indeed, but for this accident, they had never found their way forward to the country they ſought, nor back to that where their ſhips lay; the old man himſelf being often in the utmoſt perplexity

perplexity which river to take, ſo numerous and intricate they were.

Thoſe people who dwell in the flooded lands of this inſular and broken world, or in all the tracts towards Guiana, which the eight branches of the Orenoque faſhion into iſlands, are generally called Tivitivas, but diſtinguiſhed into two tribes, a hardy and valiant generation; who, though they inhabited houſes on the ground in ſummer, yet in winter were forced to reſide in the trees, where they built themſelves artificial towns, and whoſe families were to be ſeen lodged in an arm or branch of thoſe aireal or vegetable tenements; for between May and September thoſe iſlands are overflowed in ſome places twenty feet high by the ſaid grand river of Orenoque.

Departing from this quarter of the Tivitivas, which was under the diviſion or tribe called Ciawana, he kept paſſing up the river with the flood, and anchoring in the ebb; yet the third day of his entering the river aforeſaid, his galley run a-ground, and ſtuck ſo faſt, they all thought their diſcovery was at an end, and that the greateſt number of them muſt live like rooks, and build their neſts in the boughs; but, after emptying her ballaſt, and much labour, they got her afloat at the end of the fourth day, and ſtruck into another river called the Great Amana, ſpacious and without winding, being one of the faireſt branches of the Grand Orenoque: but here the flood of the ſea left them, and every man, from the higheſt to the loweſt, was forced to tug by turns at the oar for ſeveral days, againſt a rapid current, and in a moſt ſultry clime; for they were now in five degrees of the Line. Many goodly rivulets they paſſed on either ſide, which Ralegh named in his map, and ſhewed their riſe and deſcent.

When three days more were paſſed over, his company began as well to deſpair at the length of the way, as to languiſh through exceſſive heat; and well might their courage, now their proviſion alſo began to fail; yet now had they moſt need of ſtrength and vigour, when the current of the river grew moſt boiſterous and violent againſt them.

Here Ralegh had a great taſk to keep up the ſpirits of his diſconſolate companions, which could not be done without being ever foremoſt to endure labour, and the laſt who gratified himſelf with refreſhment. He alſo ſtrictly commanded his pilots to promiſe an end every next day; which honeſt deceit he uſed ſo often, they were forced to aſſure them it would be at every reach.

Thus, while he was giving them hopes of attaining the land where their patience ſhould be rewarded with plenty, Providence ſeems to have rewarded his truſt in her, by happily ſhifting the ſcene, and preſenting the moſt beautiful landſcape they had ever beheld. For here mountains, crowned with garlands of fruitful trees, invited one ſenſe; and verdant plains of many miles extant, enamelled with groups of odorous flowers, regaled another. Birds of ſuch ſorts and colours as they had never ſeen, tempted them to ſupply themſelves by their fowling pieces; and fiſhes of various kinds, by their nets; without which, having little or no bread, and leſs drink, only the thick and troubled water of the river, they had been in the greateſt extremity.

Now the old Ciawanian they had taken (as before mentioned) perſuading them he would lead them to a town up the branch of a river on the right-hand, where they might be ſupplied with all conveniences, and return before night; Ralegh, leaving

leaving his galley, took eight muſketeers in his barge, and, with Gifford and Calfield in their wherries, having eight muſketeers more, entered the mouth of that river; but rowed till ſun-ſet, and ſaw no ſign of the town even till they were forty miles diſtant from the galley, and the rowers were ready to give up the ghoſt. They had certainly hanged this pilot, but that their neceſſities were his ſecurity; for it was quite dark, and they knew not their way back again; but, as they proceeded, the river grew ſo narrow, and was ſo over-ſpread with trees from ſide to ſide, that they were all forced with their ſwords to cut a way for their oars.

About one o'clock after midnight they diſcerned a light, and heard the barking of dogs: ſoon after they found the village, and there they were ſtored with proviſions, according to the promiſes of the old pilot.

In the mean time, the company in the galley manned out a boat in ſearch of them, but next day they returned, and continued their courſe, after making this hungry and hazardous voyage for fourſcore miles in that river; which, beſides other ſtrange fiſhes of marvellous bigneſs, abounded with thoſe ugly ſerpents called crocodiles; whence the people named it the river of Lagartos.

Ralegh had a young negro attending upon him in his galley, who, leaping out to ſwim in the mouth of this river, was, in the ſight of them all, inſtantly devoured by one of theſe amphibious animals.

Not long after, being again in want of victuals, they took two canoes laden with excellent bread, being run aſhore by the Indians by them called Arwacas, who fled to hide themſelves in the woods; fearing, through the prepoſſeſſions of the Spaniards,

that Ralegh and his company were canibals. Ralegh purſuing them, in hopes of ſome intelligence, found, as he was creeping through the buſhes, a refiner's baſket, there being in it quickſilver, ſaltpetre, and divers other materials, for the trial of metals; and alſo the duſt of ſome ore that had been refined: but in two other canoes which eſcaped them, they heard of a good quantity of ore and gold.

Ralegh then landed more men, and offered five hundred pounds to any of his ſoldiers who ſhould take one of the Spaniards, whom they thought to have alſo landed in theſe laſt canoes; but they eſcaped while he was purſuing the former: however, while he was in ſearch of the Spaniards, he found the Arwacas hidden in the woods, who had been pilots for the Spaniards; of which Ralegh kept the chief for his pilot, and carried him to Guiana; by whom he underſtood in what parts the Spaniards laboured for gold, which he divulged to few of his company, knowing both the ſeaſon of the year and other conveniences would be wanting to work any mine himſelf. Therefore he haſted away from this place, his purpoſe being at that time rather to diſcover what he could of the country, and win over the people to ſubjection.

Beſides this reſtraint from all greedineſs after their gold, there was another virtue he no leſs ſtrictly obſerved, which highly advanced him in the eſteem of all thoſe Indians: for, whereas the Spaniards were wont to ſatisfy their luſts without controul upon their wives and daughters, Ralegh ſuffered not a man of his ſo much as to touch any of their women.

"I proteſt," ſays he, "before the majeſty of "the living God, that I neither knew, nor believe "that any of our company, one or other, by vio-

"lence,

" lence, or otherwiſe, ever knew any of their wo-
" men; and yet we ſaw many hundreds, and had
" many in our power, and of thoſe very young and
" excellently favoured, which came among us
" without deceit, ſtark naked.

And, becauſe he found it a very troubleſome work to keep the meaner ſort from pilfering and ſpoil, when they went to any of the Indians houſes, Ralegh cauſed his interpreter, at every place, when they departed, to enquire after the loſſes or wrongs that had been done, and, if he found any thing had been ſtolen or taken by violence, either the ſame was reſtored, and the party puniſhed in their ſight, or elſe it was paid for to their utmoſt demand.

After he was recruited with bread and other proviſions, which greatly encouraged his men, who now cried out, " Let us go on, we care not " how far;" Ralegh ſent back in one of the canoes the old Ciawan, and Ferdinando, his firſt pilot, giving them ſuch things as they deſired for their voyage; and wrote a letter to his ſhips, which they delivered; and then he went on under the pilotage of one of thoſe Arwacas he had taken, whom the Spaniards had chriſtened Martin: but the next, or ſecond day after they run a-ground again with their galley, and ſhe was very near being caſt away with their new ſtore of victuals. They lay on the ſand one whole night, and were in far greater deſpair of diſengaging her than before, becauſe they had no tide of flood to help them.

In the midſt of their fears, they bethought them of faſtening an anchor upon the land, and with main ſtrength drew her off: ſo on the fifteenth day of their abſence from their ſhips, they diſcovered at a diſtance, to their great joy, the mountains of Guiana,

Guiana; and, towards the evening, were brought, by a northerly gale, in ſight of the great Orenoque, which they ſoon after entered; a river of vaſt extent and magnitude, lying moſtly eaſt and weſt, even from the ſea to Quito in Peru, thought to be three hundred miles wide at the mouth, one thouſand miles navigable for ſhips, two thouſand for leſſer veſſels, and diſcharging itſelf by ſixteen arms into the ſea, whereby many parts of the Spaniſh Indies might moſt eaſily be invaded. From other obſervations it appears, in many places of the channel, to be twenty fathom deep; and in few that are ſhoally, leſs than two and a half. It was called, by the ſucceeding voyagers to this place, in honour of ſir Walter, after his name. One of them gives his reaſon for it in theſe words: "Of the worthineſs of this river, becauſe I cannot ſay enough, I will ſpeak nothing; we have preſumed to call it by the name of Raleana, becauſe yourſelf was the firſt of our nation who ever entered the ſame."

Now, when Ralegh had procured one of the bordering princes, named Toparimaca, a ſkilful old pilot, who was his brother, and who perfectly knew this river, he ſailed up a branch thereof, having on the left hand a great iſland which they call Aſſapana; and thence along the banks of ſeveral other iſlands, which they choſe rather to anchor at than by the main land, becauſe of the tortoiſes eggs found there in abundance, to their great relief; and for the convenience of caſting their nets from the rocks, of a blue metalline colour, which looked like ſteel-ore. So keeping always weſtward up the river, there opened after a while a land on the right ſide, which appeared a ſpacious champaign, and the banks perfectly red.

Ralegh

Ralegh ſent captain Gifford, Thynn, Calfield, his couſins Greenvil, and Bulſhead Gorges; alſo his nephew John Gilbert, and ſome others, with a guard of ſoldiers, to march over the banks, and diſcover what proſpect it afforded; and finding it a level of an unbounded ſpace, it proved, as their pilot informed them, the plains of Saima, reaching to Cumana and Caracas in the Weſt-Indies, which are an hundred and twenty leagues to the north, and inhabited by four principal nations, whereof one were the Aroras, as black as Negroes, but of ſmooth hair; a deſperate people, uſing the ſtrongeſt and moſt deadly poiſon of all others on their arrows.

Ralegh was moſt curious to know the compoſition of this poiſon, and what remedies could be had againſt the dreadful effects of it: for, beſides the mortality of the wound, the patient is afflicted with moſt inſufferable torment, and accompanied with ſuch irkſome ſymptoms, that the phyſician cannot abide the cure. None of the Spaniards could ever extort this ſecret, either by kindneſs or cruelty; and, indeed, but few of the Indians, beſides their prieſts and ſoothſayers, knew it. Ralegh was therefore more beholden to the Guianians than any body; for Antonio de Berrio told him, that he could never attain to the knowledge thereof: "and yet they taught me," ſays Ralegh, "the "beſt way of healing this, as well as all other "poiſons."

Then he tells us thoſe medicines which are vulgar, and ſerve for the ordinary poiſon, are made of the juice of a root called tupara, which alſo marvellouſly quenches the heat of burning fevers, and heals inward wounds; and that thoſe of common poiſoned arrows were wont to be healed by ſome

ſome of the Spaniards with the juice of garlic. But this he communicates as a general rule for all men that ſhall hereafter travel the Indies where poiſoned arrows are uſed, that they abſtain from drink; for if they take any liquor into their body, whereunto they will be exceedingly provoked by drought, and drink before the wound is dreſſed, or immediately upon it, there is no relief but preſent death.

After having paſſed the mountain Aio, and a great iſland which he mentions, he reached, on the fifth day of his entering the great river aforeſaid, as high as the province of Aromaia, and anchoring at the port of Morequito, which is three hundred miles within the land, upon the ſaid great river Orenoque, he ſent a meſſenger to the old king of Aromaia, named Topiowary, who came the next day before noon on foot from his houſe, and returned the ſame evening, being twenty-eight miles backwards and forwards, though himſelf was one hundred and ten years of age.

He had many attendants of both ſexes, who came alſo to wonder at the Engliſh, and brought them great plenty of fleſh, fowl and fiſh, with divers ſorts of fruit, and among them abundance of pinas, the moſt excellent of all kinds, eſpecially thoſe of Guiana; beſides bread, wine, and a ſort of parroquites no bigger than wrens: and one of them preſented Ralegh with a little beaſt which the Spaniards call armadilla, having his body ſcaled or plated over like the rhinoceros, with a white horn growing in his hinder parts as big as a hunting-horn. This horn is recommended in medicine, and the fleſh for food, ſince Ralegh ſoon after made a feaſt of it.

When

When the old king had reſted himſelf a while in a tent which Ralegh had cauſed to be pitched for him, they entered, by the interpreter, into diſcourſe about the murder of Morequito, his predeceſſor, and the other violations of the Spaniards. Then Ralegh acquainted him with the cauſe of his coming thither, whoſe ſervant he was, and that it was his queen's pleaſure he ſhould undertake this voyage to deliver them from the tyranny of the Spaniards; dilating at large on her majeſty's power, juſtice, and clemency towards all oppreſſed nations: all which being with great reverence and attention received, he began to ſound the old man touching Guiana; as, what ſort of commonwealth it was, how governed, of what ſtrength and policy, of what extent; with whom in alliance or enmity; laſtly, the diſtance and way to enter the heart of the country? The king gave ſuch ample and perfect accounts of theſe particulars, that Ralegh wondered to find a man of ſuch gravity, judgment, and good diſcourſe, without the help of learning or breeding.

After his departure, Ralegh ſailed weſtward to view the famous river Caroli, both becauſe it was ſo wonderful in itſelf, and led to the ſtrongeſt nations of all the frontiers, who were enemies to the Epuremei, ſubjects to the Inga, or emperor of Guiana and Manoa. Even when he was ſhort of it, or lower down than the port of Morequito, he heard the roaring falls of this river; but when he entered it with his barge and wherries, thinking to have gone up ſome forty miles to the Caſſipagotos, he was not able, with a barge of eight oars to row one ſtone's throw in an hour; and yet the river is as broad as the Thames at Woolwich. Therefore, encamping on the banks, he ſent off an Indian to acquaint the nations upon the river

river of his arrival and his purpoſe; and that he deſired to ſee the lords of Canuria, who dwelt in that province.

Then one of the princes came down, named Wonuretona, with many of his people, and brought great ſtore of proviſions, as the reſt had done. By him Ralegh found, the Carolians were not only enemies to the Spaniards, but moſt of all to the Epuremei, who abounded in gold; and there were three mighty nations at the head of that river which would join him againſt them.

He was further informed, by one captain George, whom he had taken with Berreo, that near the banks of this river there was a great ſilver mine; but the rivers were all now ſo riſen, that it was not poſſible for the ſtrength of man, with any boat to row againſt the ſtream. Therefore he diſpatched a party, between thirty and forty, to coaſt the river by land, while himſelf, with two or three officers and half a dozen ſhot, marched over land to view the ſtrange and wonderful overfalls of the ſaid river Caroli, which roared at ſuch a diſtance, and the plains adjoining, with the reſt of the province of Canuri.

When they had got to the top of the firſt hills over-looking the river, they beheld that prodigious breach of waters which poured down Caroli, and how it ran in three ſtreams for twenty miles together. No leſs than ten or twelve of theſe ſteep cataracts appeared in ſight, each as high above the other as a church-tower, which ruſhed down with ſuch violence, that the very rebound of the waters made the place ſeem as if it had been all over covered with a great ſhower of rain: and here Ralegh ſays, he never ſaw a more beautiful country, nor more lively proſpects; the hills ſo raiſed up and down about the vallies; the waters winding into ſuch

ſuch various branches, the plains ſo clear of buſh and ſtubble, and covered all with fair green graſs; the ground of hard ſand, and eaſy for the march either of horſe or foot; the deer croſſing in every path; the birds, towards the evening, ſinging on every tree a thouſand ſeveral tunes, with cranes and herons of white, crimſon and carnation, pearched along the river banks; the air refreſhed with gentle eaſterly breezes; and every ſtone they ſtooped to take up, promiſing either gold or ſilver by its complexion.

His company, at their return, brought ſeveral of theſe ſtones home; which they rather found coloured outwardly like gold, than any of that metal fixed in them; for thoſe who had leaſt judgment or experience, kept only ſuch as glittered, and would not be perſuaded but they were rich, becauſe they ſhone, thereby bred an opinion, that all the reſt were no better: yet ſome of theſe ſtones Ralegh ſhewed afterwards to a Spaniard of the Caraccas, who told him it was El madre del oro; that is, The mother of gold; and that the mine was further in the ground.

Among the goodly rivers beyond the Caroli, there is one named Caora. Upon this branch, it was atteſted to Ralegh, by the moſt intelligent and credible chiefs of the adjacent parts, there dwelt a nation of people whoſe heads appear not above their ſhoulders; which, becauſe every body in the provinces of Aromaia and Canuri alſo affirmed, he was inclined to believe. They are called Ewaipanoma, and reported to have their eyes in their ſhoulders, and mouths in their breaſts, or in a level with them. It was further avouched to him, they uſed bows, arrows, and clubs thrice as big as any of the Guianians; and, that one being taken priſoner

priſoner the year before, was brought into Aromaia.

When Ralegh doubted of ſuch a race to the prince, hereafter mentioned, who came with him into England, he anſwered, it was no wonder among them, for they had lately ſlain many hundreds of his father's people.

Ralegh obſerves, That Mandevill had before written of ſuch a nation; and, that ſince the Eaſt-Indian diſcoveries, we find his relations true, which were before held incredible. Further, that when he afterwards arrived at Cumana, he ſpoke with a Spaniard eminent for his travels, and withal for his credit and veracity; who, hearing that Ralegh had been as far in Guiana as Caroli, immediately aſked him if he had ſeen thoſe people, and declared he had ſeen many of them.

Then Ralegh names ſome French merchants of London, who were there preſent, and heard what this Spaniard had thus aſſerted. "Whether it is "true or no," ſays he, "the matter is not great, "neither can there be any profit in the imagina-"tion: for my own part, I ſaw them not; but "am reſolved, that ſo many people did not all "combine or forethink to make the report."

After all, whether the obſervation of any garment looſely riſing above the ſhoulders of theſe people, or the crouching poſture in which they were ſo much ſeen, by their conſtant exerciſe of archery, might not firſt give ſome riſe to this report, I leave for others more largely to explain; and how far the ſame perſon ſhall here be condemned for an implicit faith, who was, as we have read, cenſured for the want of it.

This conſideration may be further offered, for what Ralegh alſo repeats, not only from the writers

of

of all nations, concerning the modern Amazons in theſe parts, but from their very neighbours: for, having told us that Orellana firſt diſcovered Marannon, which is called the River of Amazons, and alſo after the ſaid diſcoverer's own name, Ralegh was inquiſitive to know whether there were any of thoſe warlike women, from whom this river ſhould be ſo called, in theſe American parts, who are ſo famed in ancient hiſtories to have been in Aſia and Africa; and was aſſured by an ancient Caſſique, that there was ſuch a nation of women on the ſouth of the ſaid river, in the provinces of Topago, whoſe manners and cuſtoms, as they deſcribed to him, had ſome conformity with what is recorded of the ancient Amazons, as, they cohabited with men but one month in the year; ſent them the male children, and kept only the females; "but "that they cut off their right breaſts," ſays he, "I do not find to be true."

He was further told, they ſcrupled not to accompany with the priſoners they took in war at any time; but, in the end, conſtantly put them to death: and that, as others of the bordering nations, theſe women wore certain plates of gold, which they had ſometimes exchanged with other countries for ſpleen-ſtones, which are of a green colour; "of which," ſays Ralegh, "I ſaw ſeveral "in Guiana;" for every king, or caſique, commonly has one, which their wives chiefly wear, and eſteem as great jewels.

When Ralegh, with his company, lay at anchor on the coaſt of Canuri, and had taken knowledge of all the nations upon the head and branches of the Caroli; and found out many tribes who were enemies to the Epuremei, and the new conquerors, having now wandered for near a month,

diſtant from his ſhips above four hundred miles; beſides the long digreſſions up many arms and branches on every ſide by the way, they found the winter ſeaſon advance a-pace, and the Orenoque threaten them with greater fury every day than other; the time they ſpent at Trinidad, and the company they there in vain waited for, being both wanted here to compleat their enterprize: for the moſt violent ſtorms of thunder and lightning which now ſo frequently broke out, poured down ſuch floods of rain, as made all the rivers riſe and rage moſt terribly; ſo that if they waded them over ſhoes in the morning outward, homeward they could not come, even the ſame day, without wadeing to their necks, or ſwimming before they could reach their boats. Beſides, they all grew very uneaſy to themſelves and one another for want of ſhifting, no man having room to beſtow any other apparel than what he wore on his back; and that was waſhed through to his ſkin often ten times a day.

Theſe inconveniences, with thoſe of having no inſtruments to try any mines, or men ſufficient to ſecure them againſt the guarded nations near the imperial city of Manoa, captain Preſton having failed them, made Ralegh conclude there was now no advancing thither, or ſtaying longer here; but, that he might well content himſelf for his voyage with the various diſcoveries of the ſituation, products, and riches of the country, which he had thus far made; with the intereſt and friendſhip he had thus ſpaciouſly procured; and which no adventurer to thoſe regions ever had in a much larger ſpace of time, with much greater aids and proviſions, the diligence and dexterity to equal.

As

As he returned to the eaſt, he ſpent ſome time in diſcovering the river towards the ſea, which he had not ſurveyed. In a day's time he arrived again at the port of Morequito; for, gliding down the the ſtream, he went without labour, though againſt the wind, little leſs than an hundred miles a day. When he came to anchor, he was very deſirous of ſome further conference with old Topiowari, who ſoon, upon notice, came, with a multitude of his people, flocking down to Ralegh's tent upon the ſhore. every one loaded with preſents.

When the old king was refreſhed, and the crowd retired, Ralegh, by his interpreter, entered into a long conference with them; telling him that, as both the Epuremei and the Spaniards were his enemies, the one having conquered Guiana already, and the other endeavoured to get it from both, he deſired to be inſtructed both in the beſt ways to the golden parts of Guiana, and the civilized towns, or appareled people of Inga.

The king anſwered, he could not perceive Ralegh meant to proceed to the great city of Manoa, becauſe neither the ſeaſon of the year, nor the ſtrength of his company would enable him; for he remembered that, in the plains of Maquregua-rai, the firſt civil town of Guiana, where all the gold plates were made which were ſcattered over the neighbouring nations, and about four days journey from his own, three hundred Spaniards were deſtroyed, who had no friends among the borders; therefore adviſed Ralegh never to invade the ſtrong parts of Guiana, without the help of all thoſe nations which were their enemies.

Ralegh aſked, if he thought the company he had with him were ſufficient to take that town; the king thought they were, and proffered to aſſiſt him with all his borderers, if he would leave him a

guard of fifty men upon his departure; but Ralegh knowing, if they ſhould eſcape the Guanians, the Spaniards expecting ſupplies, would repay upon them this treatment at Trinidad, very plauſibly excuſed himſelf.

Hereupon the king deſired he would forbear him and his country at this time; for, if the Epuremei ſhould know he had given Ralegh any aid or intelligence, he ſhould ſoon be over-run by them; nor could he avoid the Spaniards, if they ſhould return, who had before led him ſeventeen days in a chain like a dog, till he paid one hundred plates of gold and ſeveral chains of ſpleen-ſtones for his ranſom; but if Ralegh would return in due ſeaſon next year, he would engage all the borderers in the enterprize; for that he could not more deſire to make himſelf maſter of Guiana, than they to aſſiſt him; having been plundered by the Epuremei of their women, whom to recover they would willingly renew the war, without hopes of further profit; for the old king complained of it as a matter of grievous reſtraint that now they were confined to three or four wives a piece, who were accuſtomed to enjoy ten or a dozen; while the lords of their enemies had no leſs than fifty or one hundred.

But they ſeem to have had a political reaſon for this recovery, to ſtrengthen their alliance and encreaſe their forces, theſe frontiers having been much depopulated between the ſubjects of Inga and the Spaniards.

Ralegh, finding it abſolutely improper either to leave any of his company, or attempt war upon the Epuremei till the next year, applied himſelf now only to learn how theſe people wrought thoſe plates of gold which were diſperſed about, and how they divided it from the ſtone. The king told him that moſt of their plates and images were not ſe-

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vered from the ſtone; but that, on the lake of Manoa, and many other rivers thereabouts, they gathered the perfect grains of gold, and mingling a proportion of copper, the better to work it, put it in a great earthen pot, under which they encreaſed the fire by the breath of men, through long canes faſtened to the holes round the ſaid pot, till the metal diſſolved, which then they caſt into moulds of ſtone and clay, and ſo made thoſe plates and images; whereof Ralegh brought two ſorts into England, more to ſhew the manner of them than their value: for he gave more pieces of gold of the twenty ſhilling coin, with the queen's effigies upon them, among theſe people, to wear in honour of her majeſty, and to engage them in her ſervice, than he received; ſo little did he make his deſire of gold known to them.

He alſo brought over ſome gold ore of their mines, "whereof I know ſome is as rich," ſays he, "as any the earth yields, and of which I know there "is ſufficient if nothing elſe were to be hoped for:" but they wanted time, hands and inſtruments, to break the ground, without which there could be no working of mines.

"We ſaw," adds he, "all the hills with ſtones "of the colour of gold and ſilver, and we tried "them to be no marqueſite; and therefore "ſuch as the Spaniards call El madre del oro, or "the Mother of Gold, which is an undoubted aſ"ſurance of the general abundance thereof; and "myſelf ſaw the outſide of many mines of the "Sparre, which I know to be the ſame that all "covet in this world; and of thoſe more than I "will ſpeak of."

Now Ralegh, beſides having learned the riches of the country, having alſo won the affections of

the people, and received a faithful promiſe of the chiefs in thoſe provinces of Aromaia and Canuri to become ſervants to her majeſty, took his leave of old Topiowari, and received his ſon, prince Cayworaco, as a pledge betwixt them, whom he brought into England, where he was chriſtened Gualtero with great ſolemnity, leaving with the old king two of his own people in exchange; the one named Francis Sparrow, who being a good draughtſman, and capable of deſcribing a country with his pen, deſired to be left for that purpoſe, whom Ralegh inſtructed to travel as far as he could to Manoa, with ſuch merchandize as he committed to his care. The other was a boy, who waited upon him, named Hugh Goodwin, for whom he left orders to be taught the language of the country. This done, he weighed anchor, and coaſted the river on Guiana ſide, becauſe he came towards it on the north ſide, by the lawns of Saima.

There was a powerful caſique, named Putijma, who accompanied Ralegh and his men from Aromaia, with promiſes to lead them to a mountain called Iconuri, which contained a mine of gold; "and which," ſays Ralegh, "he performed."

Ralegh travelled a great way towards it himſelf along the river Mana, till, through wearineſs, he was forced, with ſome of his attendants, to reſt on the banks of a lake in the delightful valley of Oiana; where one of his guides kindling a fire with two ſticks, they ſtayed a while to dry their ſhirts; ſending captain Keymis the while with a party under that caſique to take cognizance of the ſaid mine, and promiſed to meet him at the river Cumaca, in his way to Emeria, the province of Carapara, one of the greateſt lords of the Orenoqueponi, with whom

whom he ſought to eſtabliſh a league: and as Ralegh returned by the river Mana, towards the ſaid province, he ſaw himſelf many rocks like gold ore, and on the left hand a round mountain of mineral ſtone.

From hence returning down the ſtream, he coaſted the province of Parino; but the branches of the rivers he here paſſed, with Aio and other mountains, he reſerved to the repreſentation in his map; which, for the numerous and diſtant rivers and countries therein occaſionally referred to, appears to have been a very accurate and comprehenſive performance.

In the river of Winciapora he ſaw what they call the mountain of cryſtal, which looked at a diſtance like a white church tower of exceeding height, over the top of which a mighty river ruſhed down with a prodigious noiſe. Berreo told him, there were diamonds and other ſtones of great value thereon, which blazed at a great diſtance.

Upon this river Ralegh reſted a while, and marched to a town of the ſame name, where he found the natives all as drunk as beggars, it being the time of their feſtival. Here Ralegh refreſhed himſelf with the proviſions of the place, and the delicate wine of Pinas: but underſtanding that Carapana was retired from Emeria; and imagining, becauſe he was an old ſubtle prince, it was to wait till he ſhould return next year, then join him, if the Engliſh were ſtrong enough to tempt his alliance; if not, that he might excuſe his retirement to the Spaniards, as though it were in fear of theſe new viſitors; Ralegh ſpent no more time in ſeeking after him; but making to the river Cumaca, he met with Keymis, and took his leave of Putijma, who, of all others, moſt lamented his departure; for the Orenoque was now ſwoln moſt dreadfully,

ſo that it was impoſſible to return by the way he entered, for the river of Amana could not be ſailed back by any means, the breeze and current of the ſea were ſo outrageous; therefore he followed the branch of Capuri, which entered into the ſea eaſtward of his ſhips, that he might bear with them before the wind; and great need there was ſo to do, having by that way as much to croſs of the main ſea, in their little boats, after they came to the river's mouth, as between Gravelin and Dover. But, when they arrived at the ſea-ſide, and anchored in the mouth of Capuri, there aroſe a mighty ſtorm, and the river's mouth was at leaſt a league broad, ſo that they run before night cloſe under the land with their boats, and brought the galley as near as they could, which had much ado to live, and was often near ſinking with all her men.

Ralegh was in the utmoſt doubt what courſe to take; either to venture in the galley through ſix foot water on the ſands for two leagues together and that in the channel, when ſhe drew five; or truſt in ſuch a raging wind and ſea to croſs over in his barge. At laſt, ſeeing the tempeſt increaſe the longer he tarried, he took Gifford, Calfield, and Creenvil, in his barge; and about midnight thruſt into the ſea, leaving the galley to come by daylight. "Thus faintly chearing one another in "ſhew of courage," ſays Ralegh, "it pleaſed God "by nine o'clock the next morning we diſcovered "the iſle of Trinidad." So they kept along the ſhore to Curiapan, where they found their ſhips at anchor; "than which," ſays he, "there never "was to us a more joyful ſight;" eſpecially when they found, upon meeting together, they had loſt but one man, before mentioned, through ſo many extremes of wet, heat, hunger, want of reſt, ſleep, lodging, and ſuch like violent hardſhips, in this toilſome

toilſome and dangerous adventure, as drove them to many unuſual and unhealthy ſhifts, eſpecially in their diet; ſuch as feeding upon many ſtrange and corrupted fruits; upon freſh fiſh without ſeaſoning; crocodiles, ſea-cows, antas, and armed hogs; upon all ſorts of the land or water, good and bad, without order or meaſure; and yet no calenture befel them, or other peſtilent diſeaſes which uſually infect all regions ſo near the line; ſo wholeſome was the country, or ſo happily ſuited to their conſtitutions.

In his return homewards he touched at Cumana, to ſtore and refreſh himſelf with ſuch proviſions as he wanted; but the Spaniards refuſed to ſupply him, at which he threatened the town; and upon their refuſing alſo to ſave it by ſuch reaſonable ranſom as they had juſt before offered captain Preſton, he ſet it on fire. The like he did at St. Mary's, and at Rio de la Hach, as we are informed by Camden and others; ſome of whom affirm, he acquired not only great glory hereby, but riches; the latter of which will be thought doubtful to thoſe who have read the Spaniards had removed their effects to the mountains, before they entered into a capitulation with Preſton.

On the thirteenth of July, when the ſaid captain Preſton, with the reſt of his company, were under cape St. Anthony, the weſtermoſt part of the iſle of Cuba, "we met," ſays the writer of his voyage, "with the honourable knight ſir Walter "Ralegh, returning from his painful and happy "diſcovery of Guiana, and his ſurprize of the iſle "of Trinidad; ſo with glad hearts we kept him and "his fleet of three ſhips company, for he mentions no more," "till the twentieth day at night, at "which time we loſt them."

When

When Ralegh was arrived in England, he ſoon applied himſelf to digeſt the obſervations he had made in his diſcoveries; and they were, not many months after, committed to the preſs. Several authors have beſtowed characters in praiſe of this diſcourſe, which manifeſts ſuch a wonderful genius in compaſſing the knowledge of ſo many places, productions, and people, with ſo ſmall a power, and in ſo ſhort a time.

But Ralegh, with all his zeal and aſſiduity for the honour and advantage of his country, could never induce the ſtate to proceed in the plantation of Guiana; not ſo much through any real incredulity of the emoluments that would accrue from it; as through that malignant jealouſy which ſo eternally biaſſed the domeſtic competitors for royal favour, to curb the foreign ſervices of enterpriſing men, leſt the atchievements of the one ſhould outſhine the adminiſtrations of the other: whence we may here obſerve, that he, whoſe engaging qualities had gained him ſuch influence, ſuch an aſcendency over the moſt ſavage and uncivilized nations, found no diſpoſitions ſo barbarous and intractable among thoſe ſtrangers, as he did in his own country; like Hercules himſelf, who having, by his glorious labours, ſhewed his power of ſubduing and taming all other monſters, found envy and detraction invincible at laſt. That Ralegh's labours were attended with the ſame fate, he has himſelf ſufficiently diſcovered in that Dedication which, with ſo much eloquence, modeſty and generoſity, he made of his Diſcourſe upon Guiana aforeſaid, to the lord-admiral Howard and ſir Robert Cecil: for, notwithſtanding the difficulty and dangers of the voyage, "it appears," ſays Ralegh therein, "that "I made no other bravado of going to ſea than

"was

" was meant; and that I was never hidden in " Cornwal, or elſewhere, as was ſuppoſed. They " have groſly belied me, that fore-judged I " would rather become a ſervant to the Spaniſh " king than return; and the reſt were much miſ- " taken, who would have perſuaded that I was too " eaſeful and ſenſual to undertake a journey of ſo " great travel; but," as he generouſly continues, " if what I have done receive the gracious con- " ſtruction of a painful pilgrimage, and purchaſe " the leaſt remiſſion, I ſhall think all too little, " and that there were wanting to the reſt many " miſeries."

But Ralegh was in hopes it would appear there was now a way found out to anſwer every man's longing; a richer Indies than any the king of Spain enjoyed, which if the queen would patronize, he was willing to end the reſt of his days in reducing it to a total ſubjection. Whatever he further advanced of this kind, diffidence and detraction were ſo predominant, that, becauſe ſome of Ralegh's company brought over marcaſite for gold, as he informs us a little further, there were ſome who would not believe the real gold ore which he brought, and which he had helped to dig out of the rocks with his own dagger, was of greater value. Nay, when many trials had been made of this ore, wherein ſome qualities were proved by one Weſtwood, a refiner in Wood-ſtreet, to hold after the rate of twelve or thirteen thouſand pounds a ton.

Other parcels, by Mr. Bulman and Dimock, aſſay-maſters, found alſo to hold after the rate of twenty-three thouſand pounds the ton; and a third ſort tried by Mr. Palmer, comptroller of the Mint, and Mr. Dimock, in Goldſmith's Hall, holding after the rate of twenty-ſix thouſand nine hundred pounds the ton; who tried alſo ſome gold-duſt of the

the ſame mine, which held eight pound ſix ounces weight of gold in the hundred, and an image of copper, made in Guiana, which held a third part of gold. When all this was proved, there were thoſe who would not yet believe it gold of Guiana; but that Ralegh purchaſed it upon the African coaſt, and carried it over thither.

Ralegh himſelf declares that he had laboured all his life in the promotion of thoſe attempts which promiſed either an enlargement of our own national intereſt or an abatement of the encroaching greatneſs of the Spaniard, who, in his judgment, is not to be more eaſily reduced than by ſuch a war; from ſo many weak nations are his treaſures gathered, and ſo far ſeparated from mutual ſuccour: but becauſe he thought ſuch reſolution and preparations were not to be hoped for in haſte, he doubted not, if her majeſty would embrace the offer of thoſe provinces, and that empire now diſcovered by him, before they were engroſſed by the enemy; but it would yield greater quantities of treaſure than all the king of Spain poſſeſſes from the Indies, both Eaſt and Weſt; and he would be contented to loſe her good opinion for ever, and forfeit his life, if the country ſhould not be found to exceed whatever had been promiſed in his diſcourſe of it.

Though he has therein written, he doubts not, after the firſt or ſecond year, that the ſame ſhould be colonized, but to ſee in London a contractation-houſe of more receipt for Guiana, than that in Seville for the Weſt-Indies: and is poſitive, "That, "if there was but a ſmall army a-foot in Guiana, "marching towards Manoa, the chief city of Inga, "would yield to her majeſty, by compoſition, "ſo many hundred thouſand pounds yearly, as "as ſhould both defend us from all enemies abroad,

"and

" and defray all expences at home; and that he " would beſides pay a garriſon of three or four " thouſand ſoldiers very royally, to defend him " againſt other nations; for he cannot but know " how his predeceſſors were beaten out by the Spa- " niards, and that they have, ever ſince, with the " greateſt cruelties, ſought the entry of his coun- " try, wherefore he would doubtleſs be brought " to tribute; if not, having neither ſhot nor iron " weapon in his empire, he might eaſily be con- " quered."

All this would not do to raiſe the ſaternine genius of the ſtate to purſue this action; and upon this occaſion we might obſerve, as Ralegh did afterwards upon another from a poet of his own time, That " ſome great men cloathing their private " envy in the fair colours of the public good, " curbed the moſt needful and noble undertakings " with diſtruſt, through a ſpecious care for the " ſervice of the ſtate."

Among theſe ſage and ſceptical politicians, we may diſcern ſir Robert Cecil to be one who, in his conferences with ſome of the ſpeculative geographers of his time, would ſhew how careful he was not to be overtaken with any partial affection to the planting of Guiana, as we are told by one of them, whom he conſulted about the matter: nevertheleſs, Ralegh's advice was not wholly diſregarded; for that part of it, propoſing to drive the Spaniards to a defenſive war, but upon their own proper coaſts and harbours, was approved of; and Ralegh himſelf choſen, with other commanders, to put it in execution.

In the latter end of January following, he fitted out captain Keymis with a couple of ſhips, the Darling and Diſcoverer; but provided, rather to

continue

continue the correſpondence and peaceful traffic with the Indians, than to ſtrengthen them in a warlike manner with forces and accoutrements; which was what they moſt deſired and expected.

When Keymis arrived at Guiana, he found his friends much diſperſed, but yet enquiring what was become of ſir Walter Ralegh, whom they had been prepared ſome months to join,; were mighty joyful to hear he was not ſlain at Cumana, as the Spaniards, now much encreaſed among them, had atteſted; but ſadly diſappointed that he had not ſent a larger fleet to expel them, and conquer their neighbouring enemies up to the imperial city.

Keymis further learned, that Berreo, being left at Cumana, and lodged in the houſe of one Faſhardo; the governors of the Carraccas and Margarita, conſpiring together, had ſent into Spain to inform king Philip, that Berreo, being retired to ſpend the remainder of his declining days in privacy and eaſe, was utterly unable to purſue the enterprize; yet of what importance his majeſty's regard thereto was, ſince ſo eminent an Engliſh cavalier as ſir Walter Ralegh, had, by a vigorous progreſs and moſt artful addreſs, made ſuch conqueſts and diſcoveries in ſome parts, and rendered himſelf ſo extenſively engaging in all wherever he came, that, unleſs they had power given them to undertake the charge, all their paſt endeavours and future hopes in thoſe parts would come to nothing.

But Berreo's camp-maſter having been long before ſent into Spain, with gold enough gotten out of Guiana, to levy and furniſh five hundred men, ſo effectually ſollicited Berreo's cauſe, that preſent order was given for victualling and manning of ten

ten ſhips to be ſent to him; ſo well worth his care did the king of Spain think this undertaking: and further, this gold bore ſuch weight, that the king commanded eighteen ſhips more to ſtop at Trinidad, and not follow their other directions, before they ſaw that place ſecured from enemies. But Berreo himſelf ſuſpecting that ſpeedy diſpatch, returned to Carapana's port with fifteen men, the ſcattered remnant that Ralegh had left him. Thoſe governors followed him, and anticipating the authority they promiſed themſelves from Spain, entered Guiana with their men, and determined to murder Berreo, who fled towards Caroli, expecting his ſon Antonio de Ximenes with aſſiſtance from the new kingdom of Granada. And now Topiowary, who had fled to the mountains, being dead, where the Engliſh boy Ralegh left was devoured by a tyger, Sanjago, a Spaniard, in the faction of the governors aforeſaid, took Francis Sparrow priſoner, who was alſo left by Ralegh; but having gathered great plenty of gold, he ranſomed his life with it; yet was kept in captivity by the Spaniards for ſome years.

After this, the faction returned to Trinidad, and begun to rebuild their town, where, unhappily to theſe new lawleſs rulers, the twenty-eight ſail of ſhips arrived from Spain in February following, and took Sanjago priſoner, whom Keymis found in chains, expecting to be put to death. The other actors in this interlude vaniſhing in canoes, recovered Margarita and Cumana again.

When eighteen of thoſe ſhips had left all things in good order, they departed according to their inſtructions, leaving the other ten to fortify at Conquerabia, for the reception of ſir Walter Ralegh's fleet. Nor was it above four months after the arrival of thoſe ſhips from Spain, that the king

king had prepared ſeveral others, it being in June 1596, to tranſport a new ſupply of whole families, to the number of ſix hundred perſons, for Guiana.

When Keymis was advanced to Topiowary's port, he found the Spaniards under Berreo had planted a village there, and that a rocky iſland againſt the mouth of Carolis was their fort or refuge; but now leaving both town and iſland, they gathered at the mouth of that river, and had ſent for cannon to defend the paſſage "to thoſe mines," ſays Keymis to Ralegh, "from whence your ore and white "ſtones where taken the laſt year:" adding, "We "all, not without grief to ſee ourſelves thus de-"feated, and our earneſt hopes made void, were "witneſſes of this their remove."

Then Keymis reſolved to ſeek out Putijma, who, with ſome friends, was retired to the high lands, not far from the mountain Aio, intending, if the Indians ſhould think themſelves too weak with this help to diſplant the Spaniards, to ſet ſome of them to work, for hatchets and knives, to return him grains of gold and white ſtones from ſuch places as they ſhould be directed to: but when he came to the place of their abode, they were fled, apprehending him and his company perhaps to have been a party of Spaniards.

When Keymis was arrived at the port of Carapana, this caſique ſent ſome of his people in canoes to aſſure him he would come down next day and have a conference with him; but not coming in five or ſix days, he at laſt ſent one of his aged attendants to excuſe the fatigue of ſuch a journey, ſo unfavourable were the ways, and himſelf ſo diſabled with years and infirmities.

This old envoy then enlarged upon the inconveniencies they felt in uſing the Spaniards aſſiſtance againſt

againſt their enemies, eſpecially when he compared their conduct with that of the queen of England's ſubjects under her great commander.

Keymis, finding it was in vain to hope for a conference with that well-wiſhing, but wary caſique, and, having ſent him a preſent of iron, gave aſſurance to all the Indians who repaired to him of his ſpeedy return with ſuccours; promiſing to make them all rich in hatchets, knives, and beads, if they would only reſerve good ſtore of their caſſavi, which they uſed for bread, and ſome plates of gold, for exchange: and, having further ſpent ſome time in the diſcovery of above fifty ſeveral rivers, tribes or nations of people, towns and caſiques in this voyage, he directed his courſe homewards, and arrived at Portland in the latter end of June, having ſpent five months in going, ſtaying, and returning.

As ſoon as he got home, he found Ralegh had been gone upon an important expedition out of the nation near a month: therefore he had time to draw up his account of this voyage (whence the paſſages which more immediately relate to our ſubject are extracted) ready to preſent him with at his return into England; which he did, and dedicated it, "To the approved, right valorous, and worthy "knight, ſir Walter Ralegh, lord-warden, &c."

When Keymis returned into England, Ralegh was gone upon that enterprize which proved the moſt renowned of any the Engliſh undertook at that time againſt the Spaniards: for the queen having heard they had received encouragement from Tir-Oen, the Iriſh rebel, to threaten her with a new invaſion; that becauſe ſhe had ſtrengthened their enemies, they would take the ſhorteſt courſe, and begin with England: therefore had made great naval preparations, to which they might not be a

little emboldened both by the death of her two brave old commanders, Drake and Hawkins; and again, by their late ſucceſs, no further from her own coaſts than Calais; which, taking by ſtorm, under cardinal Albert, archduke of Auſtria, and governor of the Netherlands, the thunder of the Spaniſh artillery alarmed her majeſty's ears in her palace at Greenwich.

This ſituation of affairs, made the queen determine, to uſe the moſt effectual means for preventing the miſchiefs of an aſſault, by taking the ſtart of them, and ſending a force ſufficient to deſtroy the Spaniſh ſhipping in their own harbours. Accordingly, a powerful fleet was fitted out to the number of one hundred and fifty ſail, according to Camden from Stow, and Speed from both.

The lord-admiral Howard, and the earl of Eſſex were joined in commiſſion, generals of this enterprize; but the queen, conſidering what there might be wanting to keep an old head and a young one, a cool and a warm one in due temper and harmony, allotted them a council of war in theſe words: "For the better and more orderly exe-
"cution of this your commiſſion, and of thoſe
"former articles compriſed in theſe our inſtruc-
"tions, we do ordain, that there ſhall be two
"perſons ſerving for the ſeas, and two that are
"appointed to ſerve for land ſervice, to be as
"counſellors to you in our name, that is, the
"lord Thomas Howard, and ſir Walter Ralegh;
"ſir Francis Vere and ſir Conyers Clifford; and,
"to theſe four, we do add ſir George Carew,
"lieutenant of our ordnance, to make the num-
"ber of five; whom alſo we charge, by theſe
"preſents, that they will, as they will anſwer be-
"fore God, give their counſels to you both, with-

"out

" out any private reſpect to either of you, for " love or fear, in all actions to be put in queſ- " tion, or taken in hand; and the ſame delibe- " rately to debate, as the weight of the matter " ſhall require, before any reſolution be made, " and before the putting of the matter in ac- " tion."

There is further to be underſtood by thoſe perſons ſerving for the ſeas, that the lord Thomas Howard, and ſir Walter Ralegh, were alſo conſtituted admirals in this expedition. Hence was the whole Engliſh fleet divided into four ſquadrons, and ſo it appears in the liſt aforeſaid, wherein we find that which was commanded by Ralegh, conſiſted of twenty-two ſhips, one thouſand three hundred and fifty-two mariners, and one thouſand, eight hundred and ſeventy-five ſoldiers.

The Dutch ſquadron was commanded by the admiral of Holland, named Duvenvord, lord of Warmondt. How Eſſex reliſhed the diviſion of authority, may be gueſſed at by the queen's anſwer to one of his letters, which ſhe thought very ſtrange. " You mention, ſays ſhe, firſt a danger " to commit authority to any other, becauſe you " are referred to your commiſſion and inſtructions " formerly ſent you, which hath no power of de- " putation; as who ſhould ſay, that if you did " follow the directions of our hand, our great ſeal " in this matter ſhould be brought to diſpute the " validity of your warrant."

A little farther it appears, that he had been impatient to be gone for fear he ſhould be detained; for the queen had perſuaded him to ſtay behind; but not prevailing, ſhe at length told him, " Tho' " we meant to drive it to the laſt conſiderations " and utmoſt debates as much as could be, yet we

"compared times ſo ſufficiently, as a prince who "knows what belongs to ſuch a matter, that no- "thing ſhould be done to retard you (being ready) "one hour: for, as we know Ralegh not to be "arrived, ſo we know after it, ſome time to em- "bark ſuch an army muſt be required."

Ralegh joined the fleet, and the whole army was embarked within ten days after the writing of this letter; for, on the firſt of June before-mentioned, the fleet ſet ſail from Plymouth. When they came to the north cape of Spain, they called a ſelect council, by hanging out the flag of arms; and then had the maſter and captain of every ſhip his ſealed inſtructions given him, or letters of rendezvous, which were not to be opened till they were paſt Cape St. Vincent, unleſs ſeparated by bad weather; but to be thrown over-board in caſe of danger from the enemy; and by which it appeared the voyage was determined for Cadiz. They had a fortunate progreſs, both as to the wind, and the taking of every ſhip, which could give the enemy intelligence of their approach.

On the twentieth of June, the fleet came to an anchor in the bay of St. Sebaſtians, ſhort of Cadiz half a league. The lord-admiral, being careful of her majeſty's ſhips, had reſolved, with the earl of Eſſex, that the town ſhould be firſt attempted, to the end, that both the Spaniſh galleons and galleys, together with the forts of Cadiz, might not all at once beat upon the Engliſh navy. Ralegh was not preſent at this reſolution, as he himſelf had declared in the account of this action, which he diſpatched ſoon after it was over to a miniſter of ſtate in England.

From hence we learn the reaſon of Ralegh's abſence at that reſolution of firſt landing the army to have been, becauſe he was engaged the day before

fore outward on the ſeas in ſtopping ſuch Spaniſh ſhips as might paſs out from St. Lucar or Cadiz along the coaſt.

When he return'd, two hours after the reſt, he found the earl of Eſſex diſembarking his ſoldiers, having put many companies into boats, with intention to make his deſcent on the weſt ſide of Cadiz; but the billows were ſo raging, that the boats were ready to ſink at the ſtern of the earl, and many were loſt, with ſome armed ſoldiers in them; but, becauſe this courſe had been reſolved on, and that doubting, now in the danger, might look like dreading of it, the earl continued his purpoſe of landing; when Ralegh came aboard his ſhip, and, in the preſence of all the colonels, proteſted againſt the reſolution; giving him many reaſons, and apparent demonſtrations, that, to the utter overthrow of their armies, themſelves, and her majeſty's future ſafety, he was running the riſk of a general ruin.

The earl excuſed himſelf, and laid it upon the lord-admiral, who would not conſent, he ſaid, to enter with the fleet till the town was firſt poſſeſſed. All the commanders and gentlemen preſent beſought Ralegh to diſſuade the attempt, for they all perceived the danger, and were convinced, that the greateſt part muſt periſh before they could ſet foot on ground; and, if any reached the ſhore, yet would they ſurely have their boats caſt on their heads; and twenty men, in ſuch a deſperate deſcent, might defeat them all. The earl hereupon prayed Ralegh to go and perſuade the lord-admiral, who being alſo made ſenſible by him, that certain deſtruction would be the conſequence of purſuing the former reſolution, conſented to enter the port.

When Ralegh brought Eſſex the news of this agreement, and called out of his boat "Entra-

" mos, entramos," as he returned towards him, the earl threw his hat into the ſea for joy, and prepared to weigh anchor. The day was now far ſpent, and it required much time to return the boats of ſoldiers to their own ſhips.

So as that night they could not attempt the fleet, " Although many, ſeeming deſperately va-
" liant, thought it a fault of mine, ſays Ralegh,
" to delay it till morning, though we had neither
" agreed in what manner to fight, nor appointed
" who ſhould lead, and who ſecond; whether by
" boarding or otherwiſe; neither could our fleet
" poſſibly recover all their men in before ſun-ſet.
" But both the generals being pleaſed to hear me,
" and many times to be adviſed by ſo mean an
" underſtanding, came again to anchor, and in
" the very mouth of the harbour. So that night,
" about ten o'clock, I wrote a letter to the lord-
" admiral, declaring therein my opinion, how the
" fight ſhould be ordered; perſuading him to ap-
" point to each of the great galleons of Spain, two
" great fly-boats to board them, after the queen's
" ſhips had battered them; for I knew that both
" St. Philip and the reſt would burn, and not
" yield; and then to loſe ſo many of the queen's
" ſhips for company, I thought too dear a pur-
" chaſe, and what would be termed but a lamen-
" table victory."

This method being agreed on, and both the generals perſuaded to lead the body of the fleet, the charge of the van, for putting it in execution, was, upon Ralegh's requeſt, granted and aſſigned to him. The ſhip he was in himſelf, called the Warſpite, was one of the queen's, and carried about 290 mariners. The reſt, appointed out of her navy to ſecond him were, the Mary Roſe, commanded

manded by ſir George Carew; the Lion, by ſir Robert Southwell; the Rainbow, by ſir Francis Vere; the Swiftſure, by captain Croſs; the Dreadnought, by ſir Coniers and Alexander Clifford; the Nonpareil, by Mr. Robert Dudley; beſides twelve Londoners and certain fly-boats. Thus the lord Thomas Howard, becauſe the Mer Honeur, which he commanded, was one of the greateſt ſhips, was alſo left behind with the generals; but being impatient of this, he preſſed them to have the ſervice committed to him, and to that end exchanged his ſhip with Mr. Dudley.

Hereupon Ralegh obſerves: "For my own "part, as I was willing to give honour to my "lord Thomas, having both precedency in the "army, and being a nobleman whom I much ho-"noured; ſo I was yet reſolved to give, and not "to take example for this ſervice, holding my "own reputation deareſt." Therefore, with the firſt peep of day, he weighed anchor, taking the ſtart of all others a good diſtance, and bear with the enemy, who was in the following diſpoſition to receive him.

Under the walls of Cadiz were ranged ſeventeen galleys, which lay with their prows to flank his entrance. There was alſo a fort called Philip, which beat into and commanded the harbour, beſides the ordnance, which lay all along the curtain upon the wall towards the ſea, and divers other pieces of culverin which ſcoured the channel. Notwithſtanding, as ſoon as the enemy perceived an Engliſh admiral under ſail approaching, ſeveral of their galleons, and other ſhips of war, with forty great veſſels beſides, bound for Mexico and other parts, alſo ſet ſail. Of all which, the St. Philip, Matthew, Andrew, and Thomas, being four of the capital galleons of Spain, came

again to anchor under the fort of Puntal, in a ſtreight of the harbour which leads over to Puerto Real. On the ſtarboard ſide of them, they placed three frigates of war; at their back, two great galleons of Liſbon, beſides two well furniſhed argoſies; and the ſeventeen galleys by three and three, were to interlace them as occaſion ſhould be offered.

The admiral, vice-admiral, and rear-admiral of New-Spain, with the body of the fleet, were ranged behind them towards Puerto Real, hoping with this great ſtrength to defend the entrance, the place being no broader from point to point, than that their line did, in effect, ſtretch over the ſtreight as a bridge, and had beſides the fort of Puntal for their guard.

Ralegh, as aforeſaid, advancing in the van, was firſt ſaluted by fort Philip, next by the cannon on the curtain, and laſtly in good order by the ſeventeen galleys which lay near the town with all their prows bent againſt him as he entered. Ralegh anſwered the firing of their ordnance with a flouriſh of his trumpets, and ſtill kept driving forwards, that he might draw a ſufficiency of the Engliſh fleet into play, and to engage thoſe he paſſed by, while he was in action upon the body of the enemy. Accordingly, the ſhips that followed, beat upon the galleys ſo thick, that they ſoon betook them to their oars, and got up to join with the galleons in the ſtreight, as aforeſaid; then as they were driven to paſs near him, he beſtowed his benediction from ſeveral broadſides among them; but ply'd St. Philip, the great and famous admiral of Spain, moſt conſtantly, as being the moſt worthy of his fire; and being now reſolved to repay the enemy's former treatment of the

the Revenge, or to ſecond her loſs with his own life, he came to anchor by the great galleons, whereof the Philip and the Andrew were the the two which boarded that brave Engliſh ſhip. Here he fell to battering of them very briſkly, expecting after awhile the fly-boats to come up, that he might board and take them. And now began the engagement to be very deſperate. The lord Thomas came to anchor on one ſide of him, tho' pretty much behind, with ſir Robert Southwell; ſir George Carew, and the Cliffords on the other, and ſir Francis Vere was towards the ſide of Puntal.

At laſt the thunder of the ordnance grew ſo great about ten o'clock in the morning, that Eſſex, impatient to abide far off, thruſt up through the fleet, heading all thoſe on the left-hand, and on that ſide anchored next to Ralegh: afterwards came in captain Croſs as near as he could; but Ralegh, to his great honour, held always ſingle in the head of all. Now after they had beat, as at two buts, one upon another almoſt three hours; ſo that the vollies of cannon and culverin came as thick as if it had been a ſkirmiſh of muſketeers, till Ralegh's ſhip was in danger of ſinking in the place, he made away to Eſſex in his ſkiff, to deſire that he would inforce the promiſed fly-boats to come up, that he might board; for as he rid, he could not long endure ſo great a battery.

Eſſex was then coming up himſelf; to whom Ralegh declared, "That if the fly-boats came "not, he would board in the queen's ſhip; for it "was the ſame loſs to burn or ſink, and one he "muſt endure." Then the earl promiſed him, "That whatever he attempted, he would ſecond "him in perſon upon honour."

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In the mean while, the lordr-admiral Howard, being alſo at firſt diſpoſed to advance; but the river was ſo choaked, that he could not paſs in the Ark, came with the lord Thomas in the Nonpareil; and, while Ralegh was ſpeaking to Eſſex, "the Marſhal (Vere) who thought it ſome touch, "ſays Ralegh, to his great eſteemed valour, to "ride behind me ſo many hours, got up a-head of "my ſhip; which lord Thomas perceiving, head-"ed him again, myſelf being but a quarter of an "hour abſent. At my return, finding myſelf from "being the firſt to be but the third, I preſently "let ſlip anchor, and thruſting in between the "lord Thomas and the marſhal, went farther a-"head than all of them before, and thruſt my-"ſelf athwart the channel, ſo as I was ſure none "ſhould outſtart me again for that day."

Eſſex thinking his ſhip ſtronger than the reſt, thruſt Clifford's aſide, and ſtill got next to Ralegh, on the left-hand, a-head of all that rank, but lord Thomas; while Vere ſecretly faſtened a rope on Ralegh's ſhip ſide towards him, and drew himſelf up equal with him; but ſome of his company advertiſing him thereof, he cauſed it to be cut aſunder, ſo Vere fell back into his place, whom Ralegh guarded all but his prow from the ſight of the enemy.

But now Ralegh, having no hopes of his fly-boats, and Eſſex, with the lord Thomas, having promiſed to ſecond him, he laid out a warp by the ſide of the Philip to cloſe, the wind hindering him otherwiſe to board her; and, when the admiral thereof, with the commanders of the other three wooden apoſtles, found that Eſſex and the lord Thomas began to do the like, they all ſlipped anchor, and ran a-ground; heaps of ſoldiers and mariners

mariners tumbling into the ſea like coals out of a ſack, ſays Ralegh, into many ports at once; ſome drowning, ſome ſticking in the mud.

He alſo tells us, the Philip thereupon burnt herſelf; and another author, more particularly in theſe words: "As Ralegh thought to have board-"ed the great galleon St. Philip, a negro gave "fire to the powder, and eſcaped by ſwimming; "it gave ſo great a crack, that the maſt was blown "into the air, as if it had been an arrow. A pin-"nace that lay near it was burnt, but the men "eſcaped in boats. The other galleon, called St. "Thomas, was likewiſe blown up, but did no "harm to the Engliſh."

He alſo mentions two eaſterlings which ran "aſhore, and were burnt; but, ſays he, the St. "Matthew and St. Andrew, of ten or twelve "thouſand ton a-piece, were ſaved from running "a-ground, and carried away." However, he does not inform us particularly by whom; and others ſeem to have done Ralegh more injuſtice, in nominating other perſons, and omitting him in the performance; ſince it appears under his own hand-writing, that he took them both himſelf. And this agrees with the manner his letter of this action in print has expreſſed it, where he ſays, "Thoſe galleons were recovered with our boats "'ere they could get out to fire them."

Here he obſerves, upon the enemies running to the ſhores, and thus firing their ſhips, that the ſpectacle was very lamentable on their ſide; for many drowned themſelves; many half burnt, leaped into the water; very many, hanging at the rope's-ends by the ſhip's ſide under the water, even to the lips; many ſwimming with grievous wounds, 'till ſtruck under water, and put out of their pain; and withal, ſuch huge fires, and ſuch tearing of the

the ordnance, in the Great Philip and the reſt, when the flames came to them, that Ralegh thought there was here to be ſeen the moſt lively figure of hell itſelf.

Thus the victory was obtained by ſea, and the Bay reſigned by two, ſome ſay, by four o'clock in the afternoon; though no more of the Engliſh were conſtantly and cloſely engaged, than the ſhips and commanders before-mentioned, againſt the ſix great galleons, ſeventeen galleys, with the fleet of New-Spain, argoſies, and frigates, to the number of fifty-five, or fifty-ſeven, as Ralegh himſelf reckons them, beſides the fort of Puntal playing upon them all the while. After the victory, "ourſelves ſpared the lives of all, ſays Ra-"legh; but the Flemings, who did little or no-"thing in the fight, uſed mercileſs ſlaughter; "till they were by myſelf, and afterwards by my "lord admiral, beaten off."

Then they haſtened to land the army, and attempt the town; in which there were, of all ſorts, above five thouſand one hundred and fifty ſoldiers in pay, and about eight hundred horſe of the gentry and cavaliers of Xeres gathered together upon the diſcovery of the Engliſh fleet two days before, as they lay becalmed off Cape St. Mary. The horſemen ſallied out to reſiſt their landing; but were ſo vigorouſly aſſailed and overpowered by the Engliſh, that the greateſt part made away to the bridge which leads to the main, called Puente de Suaço; the reſt retreated to the town, and were ſo eagerly purſued, that they were driven to forſake their horſes at the gate, which the inhabitants durſt not open to admit them; ſo that they were forced to leap down an old wall into the ſuburbs, which the Engliſh vanguard, cloſe at their heels, perceiving, with Eſſex at their head, followed them;

them; and ſo the town was carried with a ſudden fury, in a ſhort ſpace of time, and with very little loſs.

Ralegh, though he had received a grievous wound in his leg, being much torn and deformed with a ſplinter-ſhot in the fight; yet, willing to encourage the army with his preſence, and deſirous of ſeeing the actions and diſpoſitions of the enemy, he was carried aſhore on the ſhoulders of his men, where the lord-admiral, out of his care and regard, ſent him one of his horſes; but his own being recovered in due time, was made ready for him.

The pain he endured, and the fear he was continually in of being ſhouldered by the tumultuous ſoldiers, abandoned to ſpoil and rapine; without any reſpect of perſons, made him unable to abide above an hour in the town. The ſame night therefore he returned, chiefly becauſe there was no admiral on board to take care of the fleet, or indeed few mariners left in the navy; "all, to uſe "his own words, running headlong to the ſack;" and alſo, becauſe he was fit for nothing but reſt and retirement at that time: otherwiſe, he might, like the reſt of the commanders, have rewarded himſelf for his ſervices. But leaving them in ſafe poſſeſſion at his departure, they promiſed to preſerve for him his ſhare of the booty, and to give him a good quarter of the town; of which, as we have it under his own hand, they defrauded him.

He had deſired the conſent of the generals, that he might go and ſecure or deſtroy the Indian fleet, which was ſaid to be worth twelve millions, and lay in Puerto-Real road; but they deſired to conſider on it till next morning.

At break of day Ralegh ſent his brother, ſir John Gilbert, and ſir Arthur Throgmorton, as alſo

alſo ſir Henry Leonard, to know their reſolution; but the generals ſent back to deſire he would come aſhore into the town. Ralegh very favourably imputes theſe evaſions to the great confuſion, in which it was almoſt impoſſible for them to order many things at once.

In the afternoon of the ſame day, the merchants of Cadiz and Seville offered the generals, by the committee of the Contractation-houſe, with the purveyor, corrigidor, and other officers, two millions of ducats to ſpare that fleet; neither could this bring them to any reſolution, ſo that advantage was loſt. Ralegh might poſſibly inſiſt upon a larger compoſition, by ſaying, "They "ought firſt to be maſters of the fleet, and ran-"ſom it afterwards; for, if they were offered two "millions already, they would give four when it "was taken."

But, it appears plain enough, that Eſſex was not for having the fleet ſeized upon, unleſs by ſir Chriſtopher Blunt, ſir Edward Conway, ſir Thomas Gerrard, and other land officers, which Ralegh would not conſent to for the honour of the ſailors; as it appears from Camden, that the lord-admiral would not conſent to any accommodation: "For we came," ſaid he, "to conſume "them, and not compound with them."

But they ſaved him the trouble; for the next morning, being the twenty-third of June, the duke of Medina cauſed all that fleet of merchantmen to be ſet on fire; becauſe he was convinced, from their being beſet ſo vigilantly by Ralegh, who had the charge of them, that they muſt needs fall into his hands. Thus, both galleons, frigates, argoſies, with the fleet of Nueva Eſpana, and all except the galleys, which it ſeems eſcaped, were conſumed to aſhes. Good ſtore of the enemy's ordnance

ordnance was recovered out of their ſhips, and great quantities of merchandize, plate, jewels, and money out of the town: their whole loſs being computed at twenty millions of ducats.

It was long diſputed, whether the town ſhould be held or no, ſays ſir Francis Vere; who adds, that my lord Eſſex ſeemed to deſire to remain there in perſon; as, we may add, Vere did too; becauſe he, ſays he, offered to defend it with four thouſand men, till her majeſty's pleaſure ſhould be known; when, in truth, the queen's pleaſure, in this particular, was known before they left England: for Eſſex himſelf informs us, he ſent letters from Plymouth, before they ſet ſail, by his ſecretary Edward Reignold, to the council at Greenwich; wherein he purpoſed, "to dwell in a port of the "enemy's, and to make a continual diverſion of "the wars; but, ſays he, my letters were nei-"ther anſwered, nor approved of."

And much leſs was the ſame propoſal now reliſhed in Cadiz, when ſo many wanted to guard and ſecure the treaſures they had got; and, it was computed, they would all ſoon grow in want of proviſions; nay, one of his own knights adviſed him to maſter and deſtroy ſhips rather than towns, as what would make the enemy more unable to moleſt them, and to procure him wealth and ſolid honour, without riot and ruin of the innocent; beſides, the riches in ſhips could not be ſo eaſily concealed and conveyed away, as in towns; they might, moreover, be brought into England, and would be viſible monuments to his glory; but towns, though ſoon won, could not be long enjoyed.

For theſe and other reaſons, Eſſex was prevailed upon to leave Cadiz; but they firſt of all cauſed the city to be razed, and, with the caſtles and

and fortifications, fired all but the churches and religious houſes; together with all the naval tackle and proviſion they could meet with, which they either did not want, or could not conveniently carry away.

Their courteſy however to the people, eſpecially of diſtinction, and all who had made no oppoſition, was ſuch, that at their departure, the Spaniards did the Engliſh the juſtice to ſay, "Though they were heretics as to religion, yet, "as to the reſt, they had behaved themſelves with "a generous bravery."

On the fifth of July, the army embarked; and, in council, it was inſiſted on to lie out at ſea for intercepting the Weſt-Indian fleet; "but the "ſcarceneſs of our victuals, ſays Vere, overthrew "that purpoſe." So a reſolutionwas taken to make for England, and viſit the Spaniſh coaſts in the way, to deſtroy their ſhipping.

The firſt place they made to was Faro, a good large populous town, but unfenced, and a biſhop's ſee of Portugal. Here the Engliſh landing, and marching up to the town, the inhabitants deſerted it, and left them in full poſſeſſion; who, after having refreſhed themſelves five or ſix days, brought good ſtore of proviſions to the ſhips; alſo ſome pieces of artillery, and the valuable library of the late famous biſhop Oſorius.

There is another author who mentions the taking of this town, and conſequently that library, among Ralegh's victories; deſcribing the buildings to have been left ſo demoliſhed, as to afford no covering for their idols.

When the forces were got again on board, they ſailed to the Groyne, and looked into the bay; but the wind being unfavourable, they thought it dangerous to enter; upon which account, and be-

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becauſe the victuals daily grew more ſcarce, ſo that, in ſome ſhips, there was already extreme want, ſays ſir Francis Vere, it was reſolved to make homewards: however, ſir William Monſon, in favour of Eſſex's impatience to go upon freſh exploits, computes they had ſufficient proviſion to ſupply them ſeven weeks. Monſon alſo imputes the general oppoſition of the officers to any further invaſion of the Spaniards at this time, to the covetouſneſs of thoſe who wanted to ſecure the treaſures they had amaſſed.

About two months after Ralegh's return from the conqueſt of Cadiz, we find him making a new attempt to continue the intereſt and correſpondence he had ſo hopefully begun in Guiana. To this end, he manned out, and ſtored with all proper conveniences and merchandize for trade and diſcovery in thoſe parts, a handſome pinnace, which had been with him in the late engagement, called after his own name the Watt, therefore probably one of his own ſhips.

The command of her he committed to captain Leonard Berry; but, through contrariety of winds, and other accidents, they made it the latter end of December following, before they got to Weymouth.

In the beginning of March they diſcovered the coaſt, and fell into the river Wiapouco, a river almoſt in four degrees north of the line, and about ſixteen leagues in length; but not being able to find the head of its falls, nor meeting with any of the inhabitants to ſupply them with proviſions, they returned, and made towards the great town called Aramatto, where they ſtored themſelves to their deſire.

After this, ſeveral of thoſe natives came in canoes, and traded with the Engliſh in their ſhips. Then captain Berry hired ſome of them with a preſent pf knives, to go back unto the river Cawo, and invite the ruler of that place, named Ritimo, on board, who accordingly came to them in the river Chiana, where he and his train were feaſted, and trafficked with the Engliſh much to their ſatisfaction: and thither alſo flocked, from their ſeveral towns, great numbers of a civilized race of Carribes, who brought great plenty of victuals and tobacco, which they exchanged for ſuch commodities as the Engliſh were well inſtructed to carry thither.

After they had declared their unanimous deſire to have the Engliſh come and rout the Spaniards, take command of Orenoque, and dwell in the bordering nations, they departed; and the Engliſh made away to the Careres, or triangular iſlands, and kept trading on with the people of the neighbouring towns, who familiarly reſorted to them.

Then they paſſed along through the river Marawin, to Quiparia and Macirra, for about forty or fifty leagues upwards to the falls of that river, and to the ſight of a rich country above, where the people were of an extraordinary ſtature, and carried bows hafted with gold; but were forced to return without compleating that diſcovery for want of proviſion.

On the fifteenth of April, 1597, they returned from that river, and wandered through ſeveral others; till, about four days after, they fell into the Coritine. In this river they met a bark, called The John, of London, commanded by captain Leith (the ſame, I ſuppoſe, who afterwards made other voyages to Guiana; and took further poſſeſ-

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ſeſſion of the country, not by force, the Spaniard's title, but conſent of the people; though for a prince, indeed, who deſerved no right there which he had not the ſpirit to maintain) and falling down ſome five leagues from its mouth, upon intelligence that the Deſſekebe, with which that river meets, would lead them within a day's journey of the lake Perima, wheron Manoa was ſuppoſed to ſtand, they meant to diſcover a paſſage to this rich city: but, having rowed in their boats about fifty leagues from the mouth of the Coritine to the falls of the ſaid river, where, having been credibly informed that five days journey further there was a fall impaſſable; and finding withal ſome of the towns bordering thereon ſo importunate to engage them in wars againſt their enemies the Waccawaes, which would turn greatly to the diſadvantage of the Engliſh, when ſir Walter Ralegh ſhould again return thither, becauſe he would have occaſion to paſs that river, which was reported to have gold in it; they therefore were conſtrained to return: ſo, clearing themſelves of this coaſt, they bent their courſe to the iſlands of the Weſt-Indies.

Thus have we abſtracted all the voyages ſir Walter Ralegh ſet forth for diſcoveries, as well as the warlike expeditions in which he was engaged, as far as they have been preſerved in Hakluyt's collections. Nor was it without juſt reaſon, that his naval enterprizes were thus carefully gathered therein; ſince Ralegh's encouragement was ſuch, of this extraordinary undertaking, to raiſe a grove of laurels, in a manner out of the ſea, that ſhould overſpread the iſland with glory, and might be ſtill made to ſhoot more ſpaciouſly afreſh, were the author and his work revived in a manner ſuitable to their deſerts, that, when even the firſt edition of theſe Engliſh voyages was publiſhed, and before

they could receive any luſtre from the Guianian diſcoveries, the ſaid author, in his preface, acknowledges ſir Walter Ralegh to have been one of thoſe benefactors, "from whom he had received his "chief light into the weſtern navigations."

Nor did he only oblige Hakluyt with communicating divers maritime adventures, in which he himſelf and countrymen were concerned; but procured for him, at no ſmall expence, ſome very ſcarce voyages and diſcoveries of foreigners which were unprinted; and was moreover at the charge of rewarding ſome perſons of learning and leiſure to tranſlate them into Engliſh, for the further enrichment of the ſaid collections. One inſtance of this kind he ſlightly mentions himſelf: for, in his learned enquiries into the name of the Red Sea, he ſpeaks of a voyage made thither by the Portugal viceroy of the Eaſt-Indies, named Stephen Gama; the narrative whereof was written by Caſtro, one of his principal commanders; "which diſcourſe," ſays he, "I gave Mr. Richard Hakluyt to publiſh." Further we might expatiate upon this care he had for the preſervation of other mens fame; but here a gallant exploit ſollicits our regard, by which he much encreaſed his own.

The earl of Eſſex, grown diſcontented to ſee his party of ſuch little power at court, and the Cecilians carry all before them; that he could not advance ſeveral of his friends and followers to certain poſts in the army, not even ſir Thomas Bodley to the office of ſecretary, whom he had perhaps hurted with his prodigal praiſes to the queen, ſhe having preferred ſir Robert Cecyl to that place in his abſence at Cadiz, whom he had as intemperately traduced, reſolved to ſeek, by further ſervices abroad, to ſtrengthen that intereſt at home, which he now found ſo weak and unſerviceable; for the king

king of Spain, enraged at the late overthrow and deſtruction of Cadiz, had immediately thereupon muſtered up the naval powers from all his ports at Liſbon, for a new expedition upon England and Ireland; but his old enemies the winds and the waves ſo ſpeedily diſabled and diſperſed them, that the queen heard of their fate before ſhe had any notice of their deſign; and, as ſhe then took care to fortify ſuch caſtles as lay moſt obvious to any ſuch invaſion; ſo now, that ſhe heard the ſtorm was gathering again, by the repair of the ſaid ſhattered fleet, and recruits added to it, threatening a new deſcent upon Ireland, ſhe reſolved alſo to gather together her forces by ſea.

At firſt, indeed, before ſhe was well informed of the enemy's ſtrength, ſhe had only armed and victualled ten of her beſt ſhips, and cauſed the Low-Countries to provide the like number under admiral Duvenvard: but when the lord Thomas Howard and ſir Walter Ralegh, who were choſen for the command of this fleet, declared their hopes of doing any great ſervice with it to be weak and uncertain, and the news of the Adelantado's ſtronger preparations at Ferroll and the Groyne were daily confirmed, a new council was called; in which it was reſolved, that this naval force which the queen had appointed, was too great for a diſcovery, and too little for an attempt.

There was added to the firſt prepared fleet about ten ſhips more of the royal navy; which, with the other men of war, victuallers, tranſports, and many ſtout veſſels belonging to the nobles, knights and gentlemen, who were adventurers in this voyage, amounted to about one hundred and twenty ſail, as we are informed by ſir Arthur Gorges, an officer in this enterprize. Theſe ſhips then being all ſuffi-

ciently manned with ſailors, received an army of five thouſand ſoldiers, with ten pieces of artillery for the field, and five hundred volunteers moſt gorgeouſly equipped. The proportion of victuals was for four months at large allowance, and double apparel both for ſoldiers and mariners.

The lord-admiral Howard being indiſpoſed, declined the command, which therefore was granted in chief to the earl of Eſſex; but the lord Thomas Howard was made vice-admiral, and ſir Walter Ralegh rear-admiral in the expedition; and theſe three, with four others, compoſed the council of war.

The purpoſe of this grand preparation was to defeat and deſtroy the Spaniſh fleet above-mentioned at Ferrol, as well as in other ports of the enemy; alſo to ſeize upon ſuch Indian fleets of treaſure as they ſhould meet with belonging to the king of Spain; but eſpecially to conquer, retain, and garriſon moſt of the iſles of the Azores; and above all the Tercera: wherefore this enterprize was called the Iſland Voyage.

About the ninth of July following, the whole fleet ſet ſail from Plymouth, and for two days had a fair wind; in which time all the ſhips received their directions from the council of war, with the meeting-places from time to time, in caſe of ſeparation by tempeſt, fight, chaſe, or any other accident: but being now advanced about ſixty leagues, there aroſe ſuch an exceeding high ſtorm full in their teeth, and continued for four days together, that all the ſhips were driven, with great damage to ſeveral, back into Plymouth; and many died of the ſickneſs it had brought upon them.

While they lay here wind-bound for a month, and their proviſions were conſumed, Eſſex, in company

company with ſir Walter Ralegh, rode poſt to court. The earl was very forward in his propoſals to ſet out again with the fleet as ſoon as it ſhould be repaired, or at leaſt one half of it, being ſure the enemy ſhould have felt the weight and charge of the journey: but her majeſty not accepting his offer, it was more prudently reſolved, to proportion their expedition to the opportunities which remained; the ſeaſon being ſo far elapſed, and their proviſions ſo much exhauſted: therefore Eſſex had orders from her majeſty to diſcharge the land forces, all but the thouſand Low-Country ſoldiers, then thought the beſt and moſt experienced of this army; whereby, though they were diſabled of diſembarking at Ferrol, and attacking the enemy there by land; yet Eſſex offered to ſend certain fire-ſhips into the bay, and ſecond them with the two Spaniſh galleons taken laſt year with ſome great flyboats and merchantmen, to deſtroy their ſhipping; and leave the queen's own Engliſh built ſhips at the mouth of the harbour, with a principal commander, to ſecure their retreat: and this was allowed of, but with ſome limitations, as Eſſex confeſſes in one place, which in another, we find to be an abſolute bar to hazard any other of the ſhips, and as abſolute a reſtraint of the earl himſelf from going into the harbour to put this project in practice; but that it ſhould be done by that principal commander he would have left behind; whether through care of his perſon as a nobleman, or to have it attempted by one of the greateſt abilities and experience for ſuch a naval exploit, is not eaſy to determine; but ſir Walter Ralegh was preferred to the execution of this ſervice, and, as ſir Francis Vere obſerves, the charge of firing the fleet was undertaken by him.

During this abſence of Ralegh and Eſſex at court, which was not above ſeven days, there fell out ſuch exceeding tempeſtuous weather as very much diſtreſſed the fleet, both at Plymouth-Road and Catwater; inſomuch that one of Ralegh's own ſhips, the Roebuck of three hundred tons burthen, ran a-ground and bulged herſelf, ſo became unſerviceable for that voyage; though much pains and care were taken by all hands, and eſpecially the lord Thomas Howard himſelf in perſon, to have preſerved her.

On the ſeventeenth of Auguſt following, they weighed anchor, and, with much labour, ſet ſail again, being becalmed; but the weather growing afterwards ſomewhat favourable, they held their courſe for the North-Cape. Six days afterwards they fell acroſs the bay of Alchaſer, or Biſcay, and at laſt bore full into it, much to the diſlike of Ralegh's pilot, a ſkilful mariner, named Broadbent, who thought it very dangerous for ſo great a fleet ſo wilfully to imbay there, and upon an enemy's coaſts; yet, as it was the general's courſe, they complied.

The next day they were here, for ſeveral hours, beaten and ſcattered about by a prodigious ſtorm, wherein one of the late taken prizes, named St. Matthew, falling into a head-ſea, and having her ſprit-ſail out, broke her bolt-ſprit and fore-maſt overboard, cloſe to the partners. The fall of the maſts alſo broke two anchors, and carried the third away; and her main-maſt, with her rolling and tumbling, had ſo looſened itſelf, that it was in danger of breaking in the ſtep, whereby ſhe would ſoon have been ſunk, had not her captain, ſir George Carew, with great reſolution and hazard, carried her into England, and exchanged her for another.

In

In the ſame ſtorm, the other Spaniſh prize, the St. Andrew, ſpent her main-top maſt, and loſt company for ſome days; but all the reſt of the fleet kept labouring in the Bay, till firſt Ralegh, and ſome ſhips of his ſquadron which happened to carry the Low-Country ſoldiers, cleared out, and made the beſt of their way to the next rendezvous; and afterwards ſeveral of the earl's loſing him, ſailed thither alſo in ſearch of him.

This gave riſe to a miſrepreſentation by Ralegh's adverſaries, that he had deſignedly withdrawn himſelf and that part of the fleet; while Eſſex himſelf incurred a moſt juſt cenſure throughout the whole fleet, by making the high land of Portugal, and bearing in ſo cloſe to the ſhore, that he alarmed all the country to riſe againſt him.

Afterwards, as the fleet, being joined again, was paſſing towards the ſouth, almoſt as far as the iſles of Bayon, Ralegh's ſhip, the Warſpite, being then in the center of them, on the twenty-ſeventh of Auguſt, broke her main-yard aſunder in the very midſt by the parrel. Eſſex diſcovered in his ſhip a deſperate leak, by which he had much ado to eſcape drowning.

Here it was agreed that, till Ralegh's ſhip ſhould be repaired, he might keep cruiſing about the height of the Rock, where they were to unite and paſs the South Cape; yet the next morning, before that reparation could be made, Ralegh had a meſſage to attend Eſſex with all ſpeed, that they might put in with the land; which was impoſſible for Ralegh to do, being unable to work upon a wind, as having but a fore-ſail and mizen, and the wind almoſt off the land; beſides, if he could have made the land with that ſail, it was thought madneſs to put upon the enemies coaſt in that condition; when, if the wind ſhould change to the weſt,

weſt, he muſt, in want of his main-ſail, have yielded or periſhed; ſo found himſelf under a neceſſity to ply up and down for two days, till the ſaid fraction was mended. In this diſtreſs, there was no direction given for any other of the fleet to attend upon Ralegh; yet ſir William Brook, in the Dreadnought, ſtaid with him; alſo lord Thomas Howard very affectionately offered all the aſſiſtance he could give; and ſeveral other of the ſea captains voluntarily did the like: but Ralegh would admit of no more than three or four ſmall men of war to accompany him, and ordered the reſt, even of his own ſquadron, to repair to the admiral: ſo far was he from projecting a diviſion of the fleet, by entreating any to forſake Eſſex and abide with him, as it was afterwards very falſely repreſented to him, to incenſe Eſſex againſt Ralegh, for contriving the fruſtration of their firſt reſolved attempt; and, as Ralegh himſelf, when they met at the Azores, ſo ſatisfactorily made evident, that the ſaid imputation turned only to the ſhame of its contrivers.

When Ralegh had repaired the damages of the ſtorm, he bore in with the coaſt, making all the enquiry he could after Eſſex and the fleet, but could hear no tidings of them: he ſent into the iſles of Bayon, and towards the South-Cape, well knowing the earl could not then put into Ferrol or the Groyne, as was afterwards colourably pretended he would have done had they united, the wind being flat againſt him; and the whole fleet having overſhot that coaſt near twenty leagues before the main-yard of Ralegh's ſhip was broken; and beſides, that they could not recover it again, both thoſe Spaniſh prizes were wanting, which only were to have been ventured in the ſervice.

Here-

Hereupon Ralegh ſhaped his courſe to the Rock, which was appointed for the general rendezvous; expecting, not only with good reaſon, to meet Eſſex there, but with great deſire; his own force being ſo ſmall, and the enemy, as he heard, out at ſea with a powerful fleet. Yet thoſe who could ſuſpect Ralegh would prefer a ſeparation, dangerous and diſadvantageous as it was now, would needs have had it thought there was much more reaſon for that ſuſpicion, when there came to Ralegh at the Rock near thirty ſail more, moſt of them his own victuallers and tranſports; but the truth is, that having loſt Eſſex during the ſtorm in the bay, and miſſed him alſo at the North-Cape, they came hither according to their inſtructions; where, caſually meeting with Ralegh, he held them together, and conducted them to Eſſex at the iſlands: otherwiſe they had all returned home, after they had failed at the South-Cape, which was the third and laſt meeting-place, of ſome admiral to command them, and of whom they would have failed, ſince none of the fleet went ſo far ſouthward.

Soon after he had determined, in ſearch of the fleet, to paſs on towards the South-Cape, he was traverſed by an Engliſh bark, which aſſured him they had learned from an Engliſh man of war which had lately taken an India-man, that the Adelantado was gone for the iſlands to convoy the Indian fleet ſafe home. This ſeeming very probable, and no one ſuſpecting that any of their countrymen would traiterouſly delude her majeſty's fleet with any falſe informations in a purſuit of this conſequence, Ralegh earneſtly beſought the captain of the ſaid bark to hunt after Eſſex, and apprize him of this intelligence: but he anſwered, in the hearing of the whole company, that the

the captain, who had taken that India-man, had already ſent a letter to Eſſex thereof. Ralegh, doubting it might have miſcarried, or that none was ſent, commanded one of the ſmall men of war attending upon himſelf with all diligence, to ſeek out the fleet, and make report of what they had heard. This ſhip, by good fortune, met with the fleet the next day, and delivered the news. Two days after, Ralegh received two letters from Eſſex, which ſomewhat taxing his abſence, and not writing, required that he would preſently follow him to the iſlands: To which the earl ſaid, "He "was haſtening to find the Adelantado; not "doubting but to give his miſtreſs a better ac- "count of that ſervice, than he ſhould yield his "maſter."

In paſſing to the iſlands, Ralegh was ſo much in danger of loſing his main-maſt, that he was forced to ſend the ſhips in his company before, becauſe he thought Eſſex might be in want of them, if he ſhould meet the enemy; and, if they had joined the fleet without Ralegh, who was principally depended on, in caſe of any engagement, it would have ſtrengthened the miſconſtructions that had been nouriſhed againſt him; but Ralegh ſo ſpeedily and effectually repaired his crazy maſt, and ſo briſkly plied his ſails, that he overtook his aſſociates next day, and, on the eighth day of September, they all made the iſland of Tercera; yet here could they meet with no news of the fleet, though they enquired of an Engliſh merchant who had traded about theſe iſlands above ſix weeks; and, though it had paſſed that way but two days before. By this merchant Ralegh wrote into England, to acquaint the ſtate in what ſituation they were; then paſſed on to St. George's iſland, where they found the weather exceed-

exceedingly hot, and were vexatiouſly becalmed for a day or two, before they could get forward to Gratioſa.

Here, as they coaſted along, on the tenth of September about midnight, they ſaw a large and perfect rainbow by moon-light, in the ſhape and bigneſs of thoſe formed more commonly by the ſun, though in colours not ſo various, but chiefly inclining to a pale or whitiſh flame: this made the generality of the ſeamen expect ſome extraordinary tempeſtuous weather, but it fell out, on the contrary, to be very calm and hot. The ſame night they alſo eſpied, by the light of the moon, then upon the border of the horizon, ſome ſail of ſhips gliding towards the eaſt of Gratioſa; at which Ralegh hung out two lights for his company to follow him in chaſe of them; but they not taking his courſe, and the moon being ſoon after quite ſhadowed and intercepted by the earth, he was left in darkneſs and ſolitude, having loſt all ſight both of the new-diſcovered ſhips, and thoſe of his own company, till, in the ſpace of four days more, a leiſurely breeze of wind brought him, after all theſe impediments, to the reſt of the fleet, then gathered at the iſle of Flores.

As ſoon as Ralegh had deſcried the fleet, he took his barge, and, with ſir Arthur Gorges, as alſo ſome other of the officers and gentlemen in his company, went aboard the earl of Eſſex's ſhip, with whom they all dined; and "who ſeemed, ſays Gorges, "to be the joyfulleſt man living for "our arrival; proteſting, that "he never be-"lieved we would leave him, although divers "perſuaded him to the contrary; and acknow-"ledged, that he was ſorry for a letter which he "had written, by Mr. Robert Knolles, into Eng-

"land

" land againſt us; promiſing preſently to make a " diſpatch on purpoſe, contrary to the former."

Further, when Eſſex had fully ſatisfied himſelf, that all the tranſports and victuallers which returned with Ralegh, had not been inveigled away by him; and how commendably he had thus drawn them to the iſlands, againſt their inclinations, being, moſt of them, in great diſtreſs; he opened himſelf to him in a very amicable and communicative manner. He told him, " How he had " ſpent the time of their ſeparation wholly in " ranging the ſeas to meet with the Adelantado; " he acquainted him with the many conjectures " and ſurmiſes that had been vented of his ab- " ſence; and withall, named to him ſome of thoſe " men who had taxed him ſecretly with ſtrange re- " ports, yet pretended to love him; which he " proteſted he never believed, but thereby the " better obſerved their ſcandalous and cankered " diſpoſitions." In this manner did the earl of Eſſex receive and welcome ſir Walter Ralegh, with the greateſt kindneſs and familiarity, as well as all the gentlemen of his company; to the great diſlike and heart-burning of ſome, who much envied that liking which Eſſex naturally bore to Ralegh.

Here, as they lay before the iſle of Flores, they held a council of war, to conquer and poſſeſs, or lay waſte ſome of theſe iſlands; they being the chief place, of retreat and refreſhment for the king of Spain's Indian fleets, by the treaſures of of which his boundleſs ambition ſo much diſturbed and ſo tyrannized over Europe. In this council, the admirals and commanders had their charge allotted after the following manner: Eſſex and Ralegh were to undertake the iſland of Fayall; the lord Thomas Howard and ſir Francis Vere were

to

to ſecure Gratioſa; the lord Mountjoy and ſir Chriſtopher Blunt were to attempt St. Michael's; and the Netherland ſquadron was quartered to Pike, where grew the greateſt ſtore of wines, therefore preſumed no unwelcome portion to them. And theſe places were the firſt reſolved upon, that they might afterwards attack the Tercera itſelf; for Ralegh's arrival gave their reſolulution upon this ſtronger iſland a ſecond life; but it was firſt thought expedient to ſtrengthen and ſupply themſelves with whatſoever thoſe weaker ones would afford: and to this end the fleet was divided into four ſquadrons.

But Ralegh's mariners having obtained leave to go aſhore at Flores, to water and furniſh themſelves with ſuch other neceſſaries as they wanted; while he himſelf, attended by ſeveral other of the commanders and gentlemen, walked a mile or two into the iſland to ſtretch their legs and refreſh themſelves, where they all dined in a little village, the bare-legged governor having cauſed ſuch fare to be brought them as the country afforded, which they honourably paid for, without offering them the leaſt injury; becauſe the earl had before given them an indemnity, under his own hand, from all manner of violence: when Eſſex, impatient to be in action, all of a ſudden, and before the ſailors could get their caſks of freſh water aboard, ſent, on the ſixteenth of September, captain Arthur Champernon to tell them, "That the general "was borne up for Fayall, meaning preſently to "take it in; therefore required them to follow "him inſtantly; and, though they ſhould not "overtake him, yet to find him there as ſoon as "they could, and there they might ſupply their wants.

Here-

Hereupon they haſtened away, with all the ſail they could make, after him; but no general could they overtake. They next morning got ſight of Fayall, and miſſed of Eſſex alſo there, to their great diſſatisfaction, he being ſix leagues nearer that iſland when he ſent for them, and ſet ſail thither ſix or eight hours before them.

Being entered the road, they beheld before them a very fine town, pleaſantly ſeated along the ſhore; from whence the people, upon ſight of their ſhips, began to pack away both bag and baggage: their friars, nuns, other women and children, they alſo ſent away in carts and carriages: ſo continued tranſporting all up into the country for two days together. There was beſides a ſtrong fort at one end of the town, and another at the top of a very high mountain near adjoining, by nature almoſt inacceſſible, and artificially fenced with flankers, rampier, and a ditch; alſo ſix pieces of artillery, and two hundred Spaniards in garriſon, not reckoning others quartered about the iſland. They fired upon Ralegh's ſhips as he anchored in the road, tho' without much damage, and ſet a great red ſtandard up in defiance before his eyes. They ſent moreover ſix companies, with their colours, to entrench upon the ſhore, in order to oppoſe his landing. However, Ralegh, in his barge, accompanied with ſir Arthur Gorges and captain William Morgan, rowed cloſe along the the ſhore ſide, and by the high fort towards the town, to acquaint himſelf with the moſt proper place for making a deſcent when Eſſex ſhould arrive; from whence they were ſaluted with divers muſket-ſhot, which they very fortunately eſcaped, having with them neither targets nor armour for their ſafeguard.

Upon theſe provocations, and the want they grew in for thoſe neceſſaries, wherewith they were both

both lately prevented from accommodating themſelves, and promiſed they ſhould be ſupplied here; Ralegh called a council of the captains and officers to conſult about taking the town, if Eſſex arrived not; thinking it a ſhame to forbear ſo fair a prize, ſo near at hand, till they had carried all off; eſpecially ſince the enemy had begun the war upon them, and ſo proudly dared them to their own defence. Further, theſe bravadoes, with the hopes of wealth in this goodly town, and the ranſom of houſes and priſoners, made all the mariners and ſoldiers, not only ready to mutiny that they were ſo long reſtrained; but reflect on their commanders, as if this forbearance was the effect only of their fear. And, what made them the more eager was, that they ſaw no likelihood of any other advantage by this voyage, than what was thus to be gotten aſhore.

Notwithſtanding theſe murmurs, and that they heard no news of Eſſex in two days, the council was divided; and ſome of the captains, who were his moſt ſervile dependants, as ſir Guilly Merrick, ſir Nicholas Parker, and others, were by no means for landing without his knowledge; but Ralegh, with ſir W. Brook, ſir A. Gorges, ſir W. Harvey, and many other commanders and gentlemen of his own ſquadron, were of a contrary opinion; judging the general would repute them idlers and cowards to lie ſo long before ſo good a town with ſo many ſhips and men, and do nothing, but let them convey away their effects. This was the general voice, both of the land and ſea forces; yet the violent perſuaſions of Merrick ſo prevailed, that they agreed to delay the enterprize one day longer: when, if the earl did not come, they all agreed to land together.

Now, the wind tacking about, ſomewhat unfit for the road they lay in, Ralegh, and ſeveral of his ſquadron, with many other of the ſhips after him, weighed, and coaſted about the point to the north-weſt ſide of the iſland, ſome four miles further from the town than they were before, and there let fall their anchors, being a better road than the firſt, as the wind ſat. But Merrick, with ſome five or ſix ſhips of his conſorts, would not advance with them.

They were now in the fourth day of their arrival before Fayall, and no general appeared; but the proſpect of a moſt inviting country, full of little villages and fruitful fields, ſharpened the general deſire of landing, to ſupply their want of victuals, and eſpecially of water, wherewith they had not been recruited ſince their firſt ſetting out from Plymouth; therefore, by agreement, they manned out a barge, a long boat and pinnace, with ſixty muſkets and forty pikes, rather to guard themſelves in watering, than in expectation of any encounter from the town or forts on the other ſide of the iſland. But they were no ſooner ready to put off from the ſhips, than they diſcovered ſix enſigns of foot, and ſome dozen horſemen, marching down ſpeedily from the town and forts to meet them; and made ſuch haſte, that they ſoon poſſeſſed the trenches towards the ſhore where the Engliſh lay, and where, with brandiſhing ſword, and waving colours, they ſtood daring them to a rencounter. Hereupon Ralegh found it neceſſary to augment his force, which Brook, Harvey, and other ſea officers, readily ſupplied, to the number of one hundred and ſixty men more. Then ſaid Ralegh to them, "Seeing theſe Spaniards and "Portugueſe are ſo gallant to ſeek or follow, and "keep us from watering, we will try our fortunes "with

" with them, and either win our landing, or gain " a beating."

As Ralegh then rowed along by his ſhips, he was greeted by Bret, Sidney, White, Berry, and other captains of the Low-Country ſoldiers, who called out and adviſed him, " to take them and " ſome of their companies with him; for, if he " ventured to make the ſhore only with mariners " and his own attendants, without their land ſol- " diers, he might receive a repulſe." But Ralegh excuſed himſelf, ſaying " He was reſolved, with " his own company, to make the deſcent, and " then ſhould ſend for their recruits."

Then Ralegh, having thus a party of two hundred and ſixty men, not half the number of the enemy, made forward; and, while ſome ordnance, he had judiciouſly placed before him in pinnaces, as cloſe along the ſhore as they could lie, were beating upon their trenches, he ruſhed through or under them as faſt as his oars could ply to the landing-place; which was guarded firſt with a mighty ledge of rocks, forty paces long into the ſea, and afterwards trenched and flanked with earth and ſtone, having only a narrow lane between two walls for their entrance. But now, as they approached ſtill nearer to the ſhore, the enemies ſhot flew down ſo thick upon them, that not only ſeveral of the common men, but of thoſe who would before have paſſed for very forward and valiant leaders, were much diſmayed; inſomuch, that Ralegh, who moſt glorioufly approved himſelf no leſs their chief in courage, than he was in command, did not ſpare openly to rebuke them aloud with many reproachful words.

At laſt, when he ſaw them ſtill linger, through conſternation, as much to their danger as their diſgrace, he commanded, with a loud voice, his

watermen to row his own barge full upon the rocks, and bade as many as were not afraid, to follow him. Hereat ſome boats ran in with them, and out of them were landed Mr. Garrett, then a penſioner, afterwaads earl of Kildare, ſir W. Brook, ſir W. Harvey, ſir John Scott, captain Henry Thynne, captain White, captain Arthur Radford, Captain W. Morgan, Mr. Duke Brook, Mr. Thomas Rudgeway, Mr. Walter Chute, Mr. Henry Allen, Mr. Charles Mackart, and ſeveral other gentlemen. So, clambering over the rocks, and wading through the water, he made his way pell-mell, through all their fire, with ſhot, pike, and ſword, up to the narrow entrance; where he ſo reſolutely purſued his aſſault, that the enemy, after a ſhort reſiſtance, gave ground; and, when they ſaw his forces preſs faſter and thicker upon them, ſuddenly retiring, they caſt away their weapons, and betook themſelves to the hills and woods. The like was done by thoſe who were intrenched higher: and thus he won this difficult and dangerous landing, together with the trenches of the enemy. A few of his men indeed were drowned and ſlain, more hurt, and a couple of long-boats ſunk; yet was not his loſs ſo conſiderable as to detract from the juſtice of thoſe congratulations which were paid him by the officers of the Low-Country forces, when, with ſome of their companies, they arrived upon the iſland, and found the footing he had won ſo ſtrongly fortified and guarded.

Ralegh, thus recruited, being now near five hundred ſtrong, thought beſt to go through with the matter, and prepare the town in readineſs for Eſſex: therefore he appointed Bret to the office of ſerjeant-major, directed the other captains to advance their colours, marſhal the companies, and ſo, in order, marched to the town, about four miles

miles diſtant from the landing-place. In their paſſage, ſeveral of the enemy, who had before braved them with the greateſt inſolence, came with white napkins at the end of ſtaves, and voluntarily ſubjected themſelves to offices of the greateſt ſervility. There was indeed a way, two miles about, by which they might have paſſed to the town, and avoided the high fort where the Spaniards lay in garriſon. But Ralegh, conſidering the trouble of their march, the ſultry heat of the weather, the hazards of delay, and, above all, the neceſſity they were under of immediate ſupplies, took the ſhorteſt courſe; reſolving to bring fort and town all into one day's work.

Thus, at the head of about forty gentlemen of the firſt rank, Ralegh led on the companies in a gentle regular manner, full in the face of the fort, having only his leading-ſtaff in his hand, and no other armour on but his collar; for which he was ſomewhat cenſured by his friends; for, when they came within reach of the fort, they were ſhrewdly encountered, with ſeveral fierce ſtorms of great and ſmall ſhot, which came thundering down upon them from all parts of it, wounding ſeveral, killing ſome, and putting moſt of his men into diſorder; inſomuch, that Ralegh himſelf, with his little vanguard, was no ſooner paſſed, and entered under the covert of their trenches and barricadoes at the declivity of a little hill, but the reſt, compoſing the main body of his forces, which, till now that they found themſelves under the mercy of the enemy's fire, advanced in good order, begun to break their ranks, and, from marching, fell to running on in a ſtraggling and confuſed manner, till they were under the walls and trenches almoſt as ſoon as their leader, who

came ſome twelve ſcore yards before them in a ſteady and deliberate march.

Ralegh was ſomewhat moved to ſee this tumultuous and timorous courſe; and more, to think that the enemy ſaw themſelves were the occaſion of it; therefore he cried out to Bret, Berry, and other captains, demanding, "If theſe were the "men that ſhodld have done him ſuch ſervice in "landing, and ſaved him from diſhonour? Or "this the manner of their Low-Country troops, "to ſhew ſuch baſe cowardice at the firſt ſight of "an enemy, and at the muſket-ſhot ſo far off from "a fort?" The captains, who were themſelves brave enough, knowing the truth would be the beſt apology, anſwered, "That theſe companies, "who had behaved themſelves with ſuch irreſolu-"tion, were men taken out of Fluſhing and Brill, "the cautionary towns; ſo were raw ſoldiers, who "had ever lived in a ſafe garriſon, and ſeldom or "never had faced an enemy, in the field."

Being thus got under covert of the trenches and walls which the Spaniards had abandoned, and retired to their fortifications on the top of the hill, Ralegh commanded captain Bret to appoint a ſergeant or two, with a few ſhot, to go and reconnoitre the way to the town, which, in many places, lay open, as well to the high fort here in the way towards it, as to the other fort at the end of it; and, where the ways were fenced, they were ſtill more dangerous; it being with low-piled walls of looſe ragged ſtones, which Ralegh juſtly ſuſpected would encreaſe, rather than obſtruct the miſchiefs of their enemies artillery.

Bret brought word of a general unwillingneſs in the lieutenants and ſergeants to undertake this diſcovery, ſo much under the command of the fort and hill; and that the troops were rather de-

ſirous

ſirous of ſlipping by, in the moſt haſty, diſperſed, and unobſerved manner they could; which Ralegh would by no means ſuffer, through conſideration of their ſafety, without urging the regard he had to their credit in this enterprize; for being by this time well informed, the iſland could raiſe a thouſand armed men, and, reaſonably believing they would gather their greateſt ſtrength for the defence of their beſt town, towards which he was now marching, he concluded they would have it more in their power to defeat him advancing in little diſorderly and ſcattered parties, than in a regular united body.

Ralegh hereupon bravely undertook the diſcovery himſelf; the only one, it ſeems, who deſpaired not of ſucceſs to diſcover the aſcents to the hill; the cannon-ſhot of the enemy, and the ſtones of the battered walls, flying on every ſide thick about him all the while. He ſtill proceeded with an undaunted pace, to procure this knowledge of the ſafeſt way by which he was to lead the reſt, though he perceived wounds and death dealt on either hand, and his own danger at every ſtep more unavoidable. Some of his company in the march were hurt, two had their heads taken from their ſhoulders, and ſir Arthur Gorges had his left leg ſhot through with a muſket-ball.

Having, by this time, made a ſufficient diſcovery, both of the way for his troops to paſs, as alſo of the avenues to the high fort on the mountain, which he intended to attempt after he had ſecured the town; captain Berry, with Allen, and ſome others, advanced to him. Hereupon he ſent ſome guides to captain Bret, with orders for him alſo to march up with the companies, that they might unite before they came to the town, becauſe he there expected an engagement; or, at leaſt, ſome

ſalley out of the fort at the end of it, which they muſt needs paſs before they could get at the town; and which ſeemed to threaten reſiſtance, being a very fine fortification, all of ſtone work, with curtain, flankers, and ditch, very artificially caſt; but immediately upon Ralegh's approach with the body of his men, the Spaniards, it ſeems, abandoned it; for when he entered it, he found they were juſt departed. In like manner, as he marched on, he found the inhabitants had alſo forſaken the town, and left him in poſſeſſion of it, with ſuch wares and ſtores as could not ſuddenly be removed. Thus, though with much danger indeed, and ſome loſs of about half a ſcore men, with the hurt of little above double that number, Ralegh made himſelf maſter, in effect of the whole iſland.

This town, of which Ralegh was thus poſſeſſed, was called Villa Dorta, as it appears from Linſchoen; who alſo informs us, the people were moſtly of Dutch extraction, though they uſed the Portugueſe language. Others who likewiſe deſcribe it, reckon that it contained, even ſome years before this time, at leaſt five hundred houſes, built all of ſtone, with tiled roofs, and diſpoſed into fine ſtreets; beſides a handſome church, nunnery, and friery; interſperſed with many pleaſant gardens of delicate fruits, and wells of freſh water; inſomuch that, for bigneſs, it has been compared to Plymouth and Yarmouth, but in ſituation to Dover; and might probably now have been of as good advantage to ſir Walter Ralegh, as it was eight years before to the earl of Cumberland, had he not, in compliment to the earl of Eſſex, obliged himſelf to ſo diſadvantageous a delay in the conqueſt of it. However, becauſe the town was unwalled, and he was to expect, if he lay there open and careleſly refreſhing himſelf, while his ſoldiers were

were ſcattered about in queſt of proviſions, he might eaſily be ſurprized, without ſome good orders and directions given before they fell to reſt and repaſt, he iſſued forth, at his entrance, a proclamation, that none ſhould ſtraggle twenty-ſcore yards from the town, without leave from an officer, and then go upon their guard, with fit weapons and company. He then made ſome ſtrong barricadoes; planted a good watch in proper ſtations, and a ſtrong corps de garde in the market-place, that others might in ſafety bring together ſuch booty as the inhabitants had left behind.

Thus having refreſhed and repoſed themſelves all night, the next morning, being the twenty-ſecond of September, even before break of day, they diſcovered, bearing with full ſail towards the road of Fayall, the earl of Eſſex and his fleet; he having been, all this while, making a kind of wild-gooſe chaſe after Indian fleets, and the Adelantado, who, it ſeems, never ſtirred out to ſea this year, with other uncertain adventures.

Now, ſir Guilly Merrick, ſir Chriſtopher Blount, ſir Anthony Shirley, and ſome other fatal friends and cheriſhers of the earl's infirmities, ſoon diſturbed, by their miſrepreſentations, all Ralegh's further intentions to ſecure the iſland. They inſinuated to his lordſhip, that Ralegh had taken this opportunity to ſhew the world how well he could act the conqueror, only to ſteal honour and reputation from the general. They knew the earl's temper was as ready as tinder to catch fire at the leaſt ſuggeſtion; wherefore they further repreſented this gallant action to the earl, as the contempt and violation of authority: from whence they inferred, that the preſumption of landing ſuch forces without his lordſhip's leave, was not to be paſſed over without ſevere puniſhment; and that it was fit a court-

court-martial ſhould be called, to cenſure the offence and breach of order and diſcipline. In ſhort, the unpardonable crime was, that Ralegh dared to render himſelf more conſpicuous than any body elſe; and he had been leſs culpable had he been leſs ſucceſsful; they ſeeming rather willing to have endured blame for any ill ſucceſs which might have occurred to him by their abſence and reſtraint of aid, than allow of any praiſe for his being victorious without them. Nay, there were not wanting ſome, among Eſſex's commanders, who would needs ſhew the violence of their zeal for his lordſhip in ſuch extremes, as to throw out, that Ralegh was well worthy of loſing his head for his labour.

Eſſex, thus exaſperated, ſpent all the forenoon in reprehending, diſplacing and confining all the land captains and officers who accompanied Ralegh; whilſt he, expecting rather thanks, than ſuch a perverſe interpretation of his ſervices, made ready his barge to go on board the general and guide him to land: but being entered his ſhip, he found all mens countenances eſtranged as he paſſed through them; and when he came to his cabin, the earl, after a feint welcome, began to accuſe him with the breach of orders and articles. Ralegh anſwered, He knew not wherein he had been guilty of ſuch a breach. Eſſex replied, There was an article that none ſhould land any of the troops without the general's preſence or his order. Ralegh deſired leave to defend himſelf by thoſe laws which himſelf, as well as others, had made, and his lordſhip, with the council of war, had authorized; then he ſhould find that no miſdemeanour had been committed: "for," ſaid he, "there is an article, "indeed, that no captain of any ſhip, or of any "company, if he be ſeparated from the fleet, ſhall "land

"land any where without direction from the ge-
"neral, or ſome other principal commander, upon
"pain of death: but I take myſelf," ſaid Ralegh,
"to be a principal commander under your lordſhip,
"and therefore not ſubject to that article, nor un-
"der the power of the martial law: becauſe a ſuc-
"ceſſive commander of the whole fleet, in her
"majeſty's letters patents, your lordſhip and my
"lord Thomas Howard failing. Beſides, you
"agreed I ſhould land at this iſland with your
"lordſhip, whom I have attended theſe four days;
"and, finding that you came not, though you
"were half a dozen leagues before me in your way
"thither, I weighed anchor, and could not but
"conclude, both that you thought me ſtrong
"enough to take this iſland, and were gone your-
"ſelf to take ſome others. Yet I refrained ſo
"long from landing, at ſir Guilly Merrick's en-
"treaty, that I heard my own company, even at
"my back, murmur, and ſay that I durſt not at-
"tempt it: and, to tell you the plain truth, my
"intent, at firſt, was only to water, till I ſaw them
"follow me in that braving manner, which, with
"our reputations, we could not then ſhun and
"give over, being already in our boats for that
"purpoſe: for, if I had intended the taking of the
"town, I would never have removed ſo far from
"our firſt road, which lay right before it." As
for thoſe officers and gentlemen who had been
committed, Ralegh deſired they might receive no
hard meaſure in his cauſe; whatſoever his lordſhip
conceived to be miſdone, he muſt take it wholly on
himſelf to anſwer, being, at that time, commander
in chief.

With theſe and other arguments Eſſex was ſo
well pacified, that he went aſhore into the town,
and

and reſted himſelf in Ralegh's lodging. There Ralegh invited him to ſupper, and offered, if he meant to call the matter further in queſtion, to claim no privilege of favour; but would anſwer for himſelf more amply in the morning. Sir Chriſtopher Blount, taking the earl's anſwer from him, ſaid, He thought my lord would not ſup at all. To which Ralegh replied, That, for his own appetite, he might, when he was invited, diſable it at his pleaſure; but if the earl would ſtay he ſhould be glad of his company.

In the mean time, the lord Thomas Howard, very nobly taking care that no diſreſpectful treatment ſhould be offered to Ralegh, by the practice of his enemies, dealt with Eſſex to find how he ſtood reſolved; and, the next morning, aſſured Ralegh, that his lordſhip ſought only ſome acknowledgment; becauſe the reſt would think him a weak and tame commander if he had not ſatisfaction. Ralegh, conſidering he had done nothing unjuſtifiable, and very certain that he was ſucceſſively in the commiſſion for the whole command of the fleet, therefore not ſubject to any corporal danger, as alſo of the lord Thomas Howard's ſincere and honourable dealing, came again in the morning to viſit Eſſex; otherwiſe, remembring the little truſt that men ought to repoſe in ſuch reconciliations, and the ſtrong malice borne him by others in greateſt favour with his lordſhip, had deſigned to betake him to his own ſquadron, and ſo to have defended himſelf, or forſaken the earl: but the lord Thomas, after having given his honour with great kindneſs and reſolution, that he would make himſelf a party if any wrong or violence were offered, contrary to his lordſhip's promiſe, perſuading him to go and ſatisfy the earl,

Ralegh

Ralegh took his counſel; and all things, after a little debate, came to a calm and quiet concluſion.

After the army had plentifully regaled themſelves with the beſt proviſions the iſland would afford, and the diſgraced captains were received again into favour and command, they hoiſted ſail; having firſt, in honour of their loſt men, made the town itſelf their funeral pile, and carried all the artillery, and other ſtores they found therein, or in their forts, to their ſhips.

On the twenty-ſixth of September, they caſt anchor at Gracioſa, where the chiefs of the iſland coming on board the general, ſubmitted themſelves with very acceptable humiliation, and willingly brought ſuch proviſions as were required for their compoſition. This homage of thoſe people baniſhed all thoughts in the earl of further repairing, in that place, the great charges he principally had created by this voyage: for, he ſeemed ſo charmed with ſubmiſſion, as to have diſregarded the advantages it might have yielded; and fonder of having a power over his enemies, than of making any effectual uſe of it.

When they came to St. Michael's, they heard tidings of the Indian fleet; at which moſt joyful acclamations rung through all their ſhips. After having taken three Spaniſh prizes, they returned again to St. Michael's iſland, which they had left upon intelligence above-mentioned; and in this road Eſſex, with a great number of his officers, coming on board Ralegh's ſhip, hung out the flag of council; wherein they conſidered about landing, and taking of the fair town which lay ſo temptingly before their eyes, being unwalled, and having but a ſlight fort for its defence by the ſea ſide. Eſſex was for landing all the companies immediately; but Ralegh deſired that he himſelf might firſt go and ſurvey the place; becauſe the billows were

here

here, in ſome parts, no leſs dangerous than where he had made the experiment at Fayall. The earl, at firſt, conſented; but, as Ralegh was putting off, Eſſex ſtanding in his gallery with ſir Chriſtopher Blount, called him back in great haſte, and ſaid he would go himſelf. But, after many offers and ſurveys, made aloof, the conveniences of that place for landing were excepted againſt.

This deſcent being thus diſliked, it was reſolved, that Ralegh ſhould, with all the great ſhips, lie as near before the town of St. Michael as he could to keep them in continual alarm; while Eſſex, in a pinnace of Ralegh's, called the Guiana, with about two thouſand men in boats, ſhould, by night, convey themſelves about ſix miles further than their firſt intended landing, to the town called Villa-franca. Accordingly, they all landed the next morning at this town, without any manner of reſiſtance, while the fleet kept the other in ſuch conſtant dread and confuſion, that they could not regard their near neighbours; to the end that the Engliſh army, having ſecured thoſe, might the better fall on the back of theſe. But in vain did the fleet look over the hills and plains, in expectation of them; for that other pleaſant town of Villa-franca had ſo enchanted the army, being full of fruits, wines, and freſh victuals, that the commanders, as well as their ſoldiers, were contented to take up their quarters, without further thoughts of St. Michael's town; and, for ſix days together, lay feaſting and carrying on board the wheat, ſalt, woad, and other merchandize, into certain private mens ſhips that followed the fleet for ſuch purpoſes. While Ralegh lay thus at anchor, there came into the road a ſhip of Braſil laden with the woods of that name, and of Fernambuc, with ſugars as well as other merchandize, and anchored in the midſt of the Engliſh fleet.

This

This ſhip, as ſir Francis Vere alſo informs us, was taken by ſir Walter Ralegh; and her cargoe, when brought into England, was very faithfully diſpoſed of by Gorges, to defray the expences of all the men in Ralegh's own ſhip, to the number of four hundred, reckoning ſoldiers as well as mariners. Soon after, a huge carrack, of eighteen hundred ton burden, and infinite wealth, ſays Gorges, being laden with riches of the Eaſt and Weſt, came bearing in with all her ſails, alſo among them, whom ſhe miſtook for the Spaniſh Armada.

At ſight of this carrack, Ralegh gave orders throughout his fleet to take in all their flags; alſo, that none ſhould weigh anchor, fire a gun, or put off a boat without leave; but, as ſhe was bearing in, one of the Holland ſquadron, contrary to the direction and to all diſcretion, ſuddenly weighed anchor, hoiſted top-ſail, and, as ſhe approached, made two or three ſhot at her; whereupon perceiving her miſtake, ſhe nimbly changed her courſe; at which inſtant the wind changing alſo, ſo that ſhe could not eſcape outwards, ſhe, availing herſelf of it, run herſelf a-ground cloſe under the town and fort. Here, finding Ralegh follow her, and her danger inevitable, ſhe diſcharged her men in the boats that flocked about, with ſome of her wares, and was then inſtantly ſet on fire in many places at once. Ralegh and his men ſtill purſued to board her, and prevent her loſs; though not without great danger in his row-barge as he was, the ſurge being very outrageous; but by the time he could get up to her, ſhe was all over thunder and lightning; her ordnance diſcharging from every port, and her whole hulk, maſts, cordage and furniture ſunk, over-run with ſuch a thorough yet diſtinct and unconfuſed blaze, as repreſented the

the figure of a ſhip more perfectly in fire, than could be done by any painter with all his art and colours: and, when ſhe was conſumed even to the ſurface of the water, ſhe exhaled, as her laſt breath, ſuch clouds from her ſpicy entrails as, for a great way, and for many hours, perfumed the air and coaſt around. Had the army then been at St. Michael's town, as was expected, it might have ſecured this ſhip before ſhe could have diſembarked her men; or, if it had terrified her back to ſea, ſhe muſt have been taken by the fleet; and then the treaſures ſhe contained, with thoſe in this town, might probably have reimburſed the charges of their voyage.

Neither Eſſex nor his army being heard of in all this time, Ralegh was in a conſultation about drawing up the fleet towards him, when he perceived the earl's ſhip, by her flag, turning out from the point of Vil'a Franca. Then Ralegh, taking captain Morgan in his barge, rowed to him, and, the ſame night, ſent the captain back with directions, in the general's name, to command all the fleet to weigh and come to that town.

When the fleet was got up to the army at Villa Franca, a general command was given that all the companies ſhould repair to their reſpective ſhips, for the time of the year approached that the winds and waves began to riſe too high for them to ride on thoſe coaſts any longer: ſo they left this town alſo entire, upon what conſiderations our author knew not, but thought the woad-mongers and corn-merchants might be moſt likely to reſolve the queſtion.

On the ninth of October they ſet ſail for England, having been diſperſed for three or four days. They began to meet again, when they deſcried at a great diſtance the earl of Eſſex, accompanied with only two little barks; who, about a week before,

before, was attended with eighty ſail of good ſhips.

After hailing and ſaluting one another, they conſulted with their maſters and pilots about the beſt courſe homewards, wherein thoſe of Ralegh's ſhip differed much from thoſe who guided the earl's: however, all followed the admiral, and, when he thought he was not far from the entrance of the Channel, all hands fell to ſounding for ground, and at laſt found it, though to very little effect: but there was no convincing Eſſex, ſo all followed his erroneous light; yet Ralegh kept at ſome diſtance behind all night long. At break of day, though it was cloſe and foggy, he perceived how providentially he had eſcaped deſtruction in the dark and dangerous paſſage he had made cloſe by thoſe fatal rocks called the Biſhop and his Clerks. Soon after he alſo diſcerned Eſſex, and many with him, about three leagues before, bearing in with all their ſail north-eaſt, inſtead of eaſt and by north, full upon the ſands of the Welſh coaſt; on which, in that gloomy weather, he had certainly ſtruck and periſhed, had he held on a little longer: and had not ſir A. Gorges, who was then upon the latter watch (Ralegh being retired to reſt) forced the maſter-gunner of his ſhip to diſcharge a warning-piece three or four times, much againſt his will, and that of the maſter himſelf, who, contrary to all duty and humanity, ſaid, "they deſerved to taſte the peril of their own "wilfulneſs, having brought themſelves and all "the fleet clearly out of their way into ſuch "danger."

Upon this admonition, Eſſex, with all his train, ſoon tacked about, and afterwards confeſſed his error. With much ado, they beat up to double

the Cape of Scilly, and entered the Sleeve. Ralegh, by this time, was ſhot along the north ſide of Cornwall; for his ſhip was ſo crazy, and his proviſions ſo ſcanty, he durſt not put again to ſea, but ſtood along the coaſt; and that night anchored before St. Ives, where he found the Corniſh people all in alarm, ſeveral Spaniſh caravals and flyboats which lay there, having made ſome deſcents by ſtealth, and put them into great fright and confuſion: for Eſſex, becauſe he met not with the Adelantado, had both believed and reported into England, that he never ſtirred out to ſea this year; whereas, indeed, while the ſtrength of the Engliſh navy lay before the iſlands, he had ſet out with a puiſſant fleet for the invaſion of England; and theſe leſſer veſſels, which were ſent before, here attended his coming: but that ſtorm which ſo roughly ſcattered the Engliſh, diſperſed this Spaniſh Armada, utterly diſabled for this enterprize.

Ralegh arriving at this juncture, gave great joy to this part of the kingdom; and, being landed, he immediately took ſuch meaſures for the ſafeguard of the county, whereof he was her majeſty's lieutenant, as ſoon diſpelled the fears of its inhabitants. Then, having ſupplied his ſhip with proper neceſſaries, he ſent her round to the fleet, and ſhe was paid off at Briſtol, with the profits that aroſe from one of the prizes he had taken beforenamed.

Ralegh took his journey to Plymouth, where a commiſſion came down from the ſtate to lord Thomas Howard, lord Mountjoy, himſelf, and ſir F. Vere, with monies for repairing, victualling, and ſending about the fleet to Chatham; and for maintaining one thouſand Low-Country ſoldiers, which were now quartered along the coaſt of Cornwall, and afterwards ſent into Ireland.

Eſſex

Eſſex, in the mean while, poſted away to London; but, whatever advantage he might have in firſt ſhaping out the ſtory of their adventures to the queen, it little availed him; for ſir Francis ſoon after arriving alſo at court, underſtood his lordſhip was retired to his houſe at Wanſted in great diſcontent; for the queen was ſo incenſed againſt the earl, that ſhe laid the whole blame of their ill ſucceſs on his lordſhip, both for not burning and ſpoiling the Spaniſh fleet at Ferroll, and miſſing that which came from India.

Vere ſays, he juſtified his lordſhip, and laid the blame upon thoſe who deſerved it, with ſuch earneſtneſs, that the ſtanders-by (her majeſty then walking in the garden at Whitehall) might hear him: inſomuch that he quieted the queen, as he tells us; who then diſcourſed with him of the earl's humours and ambition; and, at laſt, conſtrued all ſo graciouſly, that ſhe fell into commendation of him; ſo that he ſoon after came to court, but ſtaid not long there, nor with any ſatisfaction; ſo inſupportable was it to find Cecil maſter of the wards, the lord-admiral Howard created earl of Nottingham, for his ſervices againſt the Spaniſh invaſion and at Cadiz; and now Ralegh's actions at the Iſlands eſteemed alſo more conſiderable than his own, though indeed by the ſmaller number; for the populace were eaſily led to believe the late diſappointment of Eſſex's great expectations, was owing to Ralegh's regard of his own glory more than that of his country; whereby Ralegh loſt their opinion, even though victorious againſt their enemies, while Eſſex was ſure to return with triumph, though he miſcarried in his attempts. Still both enjoyed a conſiderable ſhare in the queen's favour; but it only confirmed the veneration of the multitude to the one, and their diſaffection to

the other; yet was their eſteem more fatal to Eſſex, at leaſt more ſpeedily ſo, than their prejudice to Ralegh. However, the queen was little influenced with their partiality to either, till Eſſex too zealouſly cultivated that which ſo unreaſonably increaſed in his favour; for ſhe loved her people without jealouſy, nor was offended at his being the darling of their eyes, till ſhe found him inclined to be the darling of their hearts. Yet, whatever miſconduct in others Ralegh might be now driven to object, in his own defence, his generoſity to Eſſex, and ſome of his followers, whom he might have laid it upon, many years after their death, when there was little fear of being controverted, is ſo much above theirs to him while they were alive, that, having then occaſion to mention this voyage, he does not drop the leaſt inuendo againſt any of them; but aſcribes their diſappointments in it to the moſt unblameable cauſe.

We ſhall not take particular notice of the ſervices done by ſir Walter to particular perſons in the parliament, nor of the public ſervices which he performed in a court for ſtannary cauſes, held by him at Loſtwithiel, but enter a little into the more open and public current of action. Here we muſt obſerve, that the earl of Eſſex had no enemies ſo great, or who ſo much conſpired to his fall, as his own paſſions, his unreaſonable expectations of an abſolute conformity to his own will, and impatience to behold any body aſpire to diſtinction, who did it not through his patronage and protection. Of this he gave a moſt notorious example about this time; in which he made Ralegh a public object of his oppoſition, though it ended in his own diſgrace, and his relapſe into the queen's diſpleaſure; which he might have prevented, had he kept his word to the lord-keeper, and ſuffered Ralegh to have

have triumphed alone: for, during this reconciliation, or laſt blaze Eſſex made with any credit at court, this memorable conteſt ſeems to have been promoted by him, at the martial exerciſes performed on the queen's birth-day, which was the ſeventeenth of November.

Theſe martial exerciſes were the juſts, or turnaments wherewith the moſt active nobles and cavaliers of thoſe times celebrated the queen's birth-day every year, in the Tilt-yard, near her palace at Whitehall. Here her majeſty was commonly herſelf a ſpectator of them, with her attendants of both ſexes, as likewiſe all the foreign embaſſadors and a numerous concourſe beſides both of the court and city.

About the time that Eſſex, by many inſtances of his incurable humour to monopolize the multitude, fell into, or confirmed, the queen's diſpleaſure, he had by ſome of his followers learned, that ſir Walter Ralegh, with a very gallant train, was to make his appearance the next tilting day in orange-colour plumes. Hereupon Eſſex provided a much more numerous cavalcade, and decked them out exactly in Ralegh's colours. Then the earl himſelf appearing at the head of all, armed cap-a-pee in a compleat ſuit of orange colour, not only paſſed for the ſole knight or champion of that diſtinction, by drowning all diſtinction in ſir Walter Ralegh, but thereby incorporated him and his train only as ſo many more of his own eſquires, pages, and other retinue or ſervants, who made up the parade upon theſe occaſions. Yet the earl's ſucceſs, which is alſo come to light, ſeems not to have been much regretted, being ſo agreeable to the merit of uſurpers; inſomuch that it proved Ralegh's feather triumph in the concluſion. For, though the lord Bacon might have reaſon not to

mention the earl's name, where he tells us, a gentleman, who came to the tilt all in orange-tawney, and ran very ill, came again the next day all in green, and ran worſe; yet another author, inſtead of this gentleman, names Eſſex; and goes on, as the lord Bacon does, with obſerving, that "one "of the ſpectators hereupon aſking, "Why this "tilter (who ſeemed to be known in both habits) "changed his colours;" another anſwered, "Sure-"ly, becauſe it may be reported, that there was "one in green who ran worſe than he in orange-"colour."

Such like diſturbances and ill blood as theſe conteſts muſt have bred, might well make the queen weary of having Eſſex any longer about the court, and deſirous of removing him to ſome employment where he might more commendably excuſe his martial qualities. A good occaſion offered itſelf in Ireland, where Tir-Oen's rebellion had now overſpread almoſt the whole kingdom. A conſultation was therefore held for ſending over the fitteſt perſon to ſuppreſs it. The lord Mountjoy was firſt propoſed; but Eſſex himſelf made exceptions againſt his want of experience and activity; alledging, Ireland required a perſon of the firſt rank, who was an old general, and conſiderable for honour, intereſt, and eſtate, to gain him reſpect and influence there; by which Camden thinks he would have recommended himſelf; and adds, that when the queen therefore reſolved on Eſſex, he ſlightly refuſed it, adviſing her to ſome abler perſon; though, continues that hiſtorian, he had an objection ready againſt any perſon ſhe ſhould have named.

About four months after Eſſex was thus diſpoſed of, there were great apprehenſions in England of an invaſion, but from what quarter is not well diſtin-

diſtinguiſhed: ſix thouſand ſoldiers were ſuddenly raiſed to guard the city and queen's perſon. Chains were drawn acroſs the ſtreets of London, watches ſet, and lights hung out at every man's door for above a fortnight. By ſea, ſixteen or eighteen ſhips of the royal navy were fitted out with wonderful ſpeed, under the command of the lord Thomas Howard, as admiral, in the Elizabeth Jonas, and ſir Walter, vice-admiral, in the Ark-Royal. Whether occaſioned by any miſtruſt the Engliſh and Spaniards had of one another, or a policy held on both ſides to make peace with ſword in hand, is not eaſy to determine; but is ſure the preparation on both ſides was very great, as if one expected an invaſion from the other: and yet it was generally conceived not to be intended by either; but that our fleet had only relation to the earl of Eſſex, then in Ireland, as if he had ſome deſperate deſign to try his friends in England, and to be revenged of thoſe he thought his enemies. However it was, the care and coſt was not ſo great as neceſſary; for it was known, that the Adelantado had drawn, both his ſhips and galleys, to the Groyne; which was not uſual, but upon ſome action intended for England or Ireland: and, ſeeing we were not to be ſurprized, he diverted them afterwards to a different uſe.

Another benefit that aroſe to the nation, by putting it into this ſudden poſture of defence, was the great dexterity and expedition wherewith it was taught to ſpring into arms: for the incredible ſpeed and order of the commanders, in raiſing ſuch a land army, and fitting out ſuch a royal navy, was ſo admired, both by Spain, France, and Holland, that all foreigners confeſſed, "Her ma-"jeſty's deeds in war were not heretofore more "dreadful to her enemies, than now only her

"preparations for it." Inſomuch, that it is ſaid, an envoy was ſent by the archduke from Bruſſels with overtures of peace, though they did not then ſucceed. Whether a deſigned invaſion from Spain was hereby prevented, or her majeſty was better ſatisfied about the earl of Eſſex, we find not; but ſhe commanded her fleet home, after it had been about a month at ſea.

Near a month after this, Eſſex returned privately out of Ireland, with ſome of his choice friends; one whereof, named ſir Chriſtopher St. Lawrence, offered to murder the lord Gray, whom they met upon the road, and to diſpatch ſecretary Cecyl when they came to court: but Eſſex would not encourage ſo baſe an act.

The queen was now at Nonſuch; hither Eſſex haſtened to preſent himſelf on his knees before her, in her privy-chamber early in the morning, and when her majeſty leaſt dreamt of him, ſays Camden; who adds, that ſhe entertained him with ſome marks of her grace and favour, though not with that freedom he uſed to find. The queen indeed ordered Eſſex to his apartment, and there to continue, as Camden goes on; for the earl had not only diſobliged her before, but now given freſh provocation by leaving Ireland without her permiſſion, and for ſhuffling up a truce there, which might be broke at a fortnight's warning; whereas he might have made an effectual accommodation with the rebels, and was empowered to give them a general act of indemnity.

The excuſes he offered before the council were ſo unſatisfactory, and his behaviour ſo contemptuous, that the queen thought proper to commit him to cuſtody; but appointed it to be in the lord-keeper's houſe rather than a common priſon, chiefly to obſtruct the ſuggeſtions of his pernicious adherents,

adherents, to whom he was ſo infatuated, that he could not forſake them, though one of the objections, which would be raiſed againſt him, was the leaving that kingdom in ſuch an unſettled poſture, and returning into this, with ſuch a number of ſwordſmen at his heels.

While Eſſex was thus in confinement, commiſſioners were ſent over to Buloigne to negociate the peace with Spain. This was in May 1600; and, about the ſame time, we find ſir Walter Ralegh was alſo ſent, with the lord Cobham, upon an embaſſy concerning the ſame, into Flanders. Their buſineſs was kept very ſecret; yet Albert, archduke of Auſtria, and governor of the Netherlands, having charged the queen of England, it ſeems, with relieving the Hollanders, and being likely to take ſome umbrage at ſo many perſons of conſiderable rank going over volunteers to prince Maurice, as the lord of Northumberland, lord Rutland, and others; ſecretary Cecyl wrote to the ſaid commiſſioners at Buloigne, that if the archduke Joſeph ſhould object in the like manner to Cobham and Ralegh, they were to return anſwer, "That theſe had no charge, nor carried "either horſe or men, except ſome half dozen of "their own attendants; and, finding the queen "ſo reſolved to have a peace (if good conditions "could be had) they obtained leave, with im-"portunity, to ſee that one action (then expect-"ed) before they might deſpair of ſeeing any more "of the like kind in her majeſty's time."

So much of this matter we have in a letter of ſecretary Cecyl's to thoſe commiſſioners. In another written by ſir Henry Neville, who was one of thoſe commiſſioners, to Mr. Winwood, he mentions it as a report, that Cobham and Ralegh were gone over upon pretext to ſee the camp and ſiege

ſiege of Fort Iſabella near Oſtend, before which prince Maurice lay; but thinks they had ſome other end; and that in England there was ſome alarm taken at theſe matters, although he was not worthy to be let into the ſecret.

The ſaid ſir Henry, in another letter to Mr. Winwood, ſays, that the journey of Cobham and Ralegh was not upon curioſity only; but that they carried ſome meſſage (to prince Maurice it ſeems) which did no harm; and that he would reveal the particulars when he was better informed of them. Theſe three letters were written in July this year, and in the firſt of them we perceive Ralegh was returned into England by the fourteenth day of the ſaid month.

When he arrived at court, the government of Jerſey was, it ſeems, vacant by the death of ſir Anthony, ſon of ſir Amias Paulet. Application was made to the queen by many for this preferment; but ſhe thought none ſo worthy of it as ſir Walter Ralegh. About ſix weeks after, that is, in the latter end of Auguſt, his patent was paſſed, with grant of the manor or lordſhip of St. Germain in the ſaid iſland, and all the lands and tenements therein.

After Eſſex, with his party, had made ſeveral excurſions, and ſome perſons had been ſlain both on his ſide and the queen's. After he had been proclaimed a traitor by the king at arms in ſeveral parts of the city; and was driven, by water, to ſeek garriſon in his own houſe; we find Ralegh mentioned among the ſeveral nobles and knights who inveſted it; though he appears in no particular action againſt the ſaid earl or his company. But, when the earl ſoon after ſurrendered himſelf, and was brought to examination, he confeſſed that he was to have been aſſaulted or aſſaſſinated

nated by his private enemies: of this we have the following account publiſhed by authority.

"As in all former diſcontentments, he had gone "the beaten path of traitors, turning their impu- "tation upon counſellors and perſons of credit "with their ſovereign: ſo now he was forced to "deſcend to the pretext of a private quarrel; "giving out, how that evening, when he ſhould "have been called before the lords of the coun- "cil, there was an ambuſcade of muſketeers "placed upon the water, by the advice of my lord "Cobham and ſir Walter Ralegh, to have mur- "dered him in the way as he paſſed. A matter of "no probability, (continues this author) thoſe "perſons having no ſuch deſperate eſtates or "minds as to ruin themſelves and their poſterity "by committing ſo odious a crime. On the con- "trary, it was certain, ſir Ferdinando Gorges "accuſed Blount perſuading him to kill, or at "leaſt apprehend ſir Walter Ralegh; and that "Gorges, rejecting this advice, Blount ſent four "ſhot after him in a boat, which Blount denied "not; and aſked Ralegh forgiveneſs for it at the "time of his death."

But, there were other improbabilities to diſcredit this ſlander; beſides, that the perſons ſo accuſed, had reputations and eſtates better eſtabliſhed, than to overthrow them by ſuch a deteſtable deed; "as Eſſex's declining to produce or "name any author of ſuch an information: be- "ſides, his contradicting himſelf in the place; as "one while he was to have been murdered in his "bed, and another, on the water: alſo, in the "time and perſons; as that it was to have been "done by jeſuits, and ſome days before; ſo that, "in the end, this accuſation by Eſſex was com- "pared to the action of Piſiſtratus, who proceed-

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" ed ſo far in this kind of fiction and diſſimula-
" tion, that he lanced his own body, and came
" wounded before the people, as though he had
" been aſſaulted by his private enemies; thus ob-
" tained a guard about his perſon, whereby he
" afterwards uſurped the ſtate."

Further, what may perfectly clear up the innocence of Cobham and Ralegh from this unworthy calumny, is the acknowledgment which Blount made at his own trial; when, being aſked by ſecretary Cecyl, " Whether he thought my lord
" Cobham and ſir Walter Ralegh intended any
" ſuch aſſaſſination of the earl? he anſwered, that
" he did not believe they ever meant any ſuch
" thing, nor that the earl himſelf feared it; only,
" it was a word caſt out to colour other mat-
" ters."

And laſtly, what may tend to prove, that Ralegh did rather compaſſionate and incline to befriend the earl, than harbour any enmity that was implacable againſt him, is, that one of the earl's own faction, captain Thomas Lee, ſhould have ſuch hopes, that Ralegh might be perſuaded into the danger of diſobliging the queen by importunity, or other violent means, for retrieving both Eſſex and Southampton from the jaws of death, as to tell ſir Robert Croſs, who had been an old officer under Ralegh in ſeveral engagements at ſea, " That ſir Walter Ralegh might
" get himſelf eternal honour and love, more than
" ever he can otherwiſe, if he would procure her
" majeſty's warrant to free the lords; which he
" might compaſs, by undertaking her perſon:"
for this does not only ſhew the opinion that was held of Ralegh's power with the queen, but the probability that he might be induced to exert it for the reſcue of thoſe noblemen.

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We find he did uſe his intereſt for ſome who were drawn in unawares, and got a pardon for ſir Edmund Bainham, as well as for John Littleton, and Orell a brave old ſoldier.

On the nineteenth of February, Eſſex was arraigned at Weſtminſter; and we find, in his trial, that ſir Walter Ralegh, with forty of the queen's guard, was as captain thereof, there preſent upon duty. Six days after the earl was beheaded in the court-yard of London tower. Among the many perſons of diſtinction there preſent, was ſir Walter Ralegh, probably in his charge again as captain of the guard. He ſtood near the ſcaffold, according to his own aſſertion, that he might better anſwer, if Eſſex ſhould be deſirous of ſpeaking to him. But his enemies explained his preſence there in ſuch a barbarous ſenſe, ſays Camden, as if he had preſſed near the place of execution, only to feaſt his eyes with the tragedy of the earl's ſufferings; and the greateſt or moſt notorious of Ralegh's enemies (who is known to us) he who betrayed him to his untimely end, as will be obſerved, after Ralegh's death, inſinuated, that he not only inſulted upon Eſſex being dead, but even plotted his downfall, as that "he had called "the earl's ſaintſhip in queſtion;" had writ in ſome letters, "that the great boy died like a "calf, and like a Craven;" and that, ſoon after his execution, a gentleman, returning ftom Spain, touched at Sherborne, who, being aſked by Ralegh, "What they ſaid in Spain of Eſſex's death, "anſwered, "They had not heard of it; but he "was ſorry to hear, that in the iſland voyage, the "earl had brought him to his mercy;" to which Ralegh anſwered, "But I truſt I am now quit "with him;" and, as a more evident demonſtration, ſays he, that the night before the earl's ſuffer-

ſufferings, Ralegh gave inſtructions to the lieutenant of the Tower for the execution of the warrant: which ſurely he did not do without authority. But theſe particulars, it muſt be obſerved, come from the perſon ſtigmatized with having enſnared Ralegh to his deſtruction, and to the perſon who deſtroyed him, with intention to palliate the conduct of both to the world.

As for Ralegh's behaviour to Eſſex, we may gueſs what it was while the earl was alive, ſince he made no exceptions to it at his death, when he had free liberty of ſpeech; and, when Ralegh came to the ſame end, it appears by his laſt words, that he had relented more at the earl's fate, than any thing we hear of in his pretended friends; and that he retired from the ſight of the earl at the time of his death, in compliance with the miſconſtruction of the populace, though he afterwards repented it; ſince the earl had a deſire to ſee and ſpeak with him before he took his farewel of the world.

This deſire was, in all probability, to aſk Ralegh forgiveneſs, for having ſo diſhonourably treated and traduced him, to countenance his own raſh purpoſes. For juſt ſuch a deſire had ſir Chriſtopher Blount, when his own execution approached on the eighteenth of March following at Tower-hill; where, underſtanding that Ralegh, as captain of the guard, was near the ſcaffold, he ſaid, "Sir Walter Ralegh, I thank God that you "are preſent: I had an infinite deſire to ſpeak "with you, to aſk you forgiveneſs e'er I died; "both for the wrong done you, and for my par"ticular ill intent towards you: I beſeech you "forgive me." Ralegh anſwered, "that he "moſt willingly forgave him, and beſought God "to forgive him, and to give him his divine com"fort; proteſting before the Lord, that whatever

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"ſir Chriſtopher Blount meant towards him, for "his part, he never bore him any ill intent." And further ſaid to him, "I pray you, without "offence, let me put you in mind, that you have "been eſteemed not only a principal provoker "and perſuader of the earl of Eſſex in all his un- "dutiful courſes, but eſpecially an adviſer in that "which has been confeſſed, of his purpoſe to "tranſport a great part of her majeſty's army out "of Ireland into England, to land at Milford, "and thence to turn it againſt her ſacred perſon. "You will do well to tell the truth herein, and to "ſatisfy the world."

Blount replied, "When I was brought from "Reban to Dublin, and lodged in the caſtle, his "lordſhip and the earl of Southampton came to "viſit me; and he began thus plainly with me: "That he intended to tranſport a choice part of "the army of Ireland into England, and land "them in Wales at Milford, or thereabouts; and "ſo ſecuring his deſcent, would gather ſuch other "forces as would enable him to march to London." "I anſwered, I would that night conſider of it."

Next day the earls came again; I told them, "Such an enterprize, as it was moſt dangerous, "would coſt much blood; ſo as I could not like "it. But I rather adviſed him to go over him- "ſelf, with a good train, and make ſure of the "court, then make his own conditions; and, "though we never reſolved to hurt her majeſty's "perſon, yet I know, and muſt confeſs, if we "had failed of our ends, we ſhould, rather than "have been diſappointed, even have drawn blood "from herſelf." Then giving a few farther hints of their progreſs in general, he leaves the reſt to his confeſſions made before the privy-counſellors, whom he names, and to whom he beſeeches ſir Walter Ralegh to commend him for their favour-

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able and charitable dealing. Laſtly, having alſo declared he died in the catholic faith, and bid farewell to the lords Gray, Compton, and the reſt, he made a decent end.

The following ſummer, in the year 1601, it appears, that Ralegh attended upon the queen in her progreſs; and, when the king of France came to Calais, on the alarm of the archduke's beſieging of Oſtend, her majeſty was at Dover. Embaſſadors were ſent over by both on this occaſion; and, in that private diſpatch of the marquis of Roſney, afterwards duke of Sully, related only by himſelf, we find, that, upon his landing at Dover, he was received by Ralegh, in company with the lords Cobham, Sidney, and others.

The interview, then expected between theſe two princes, was not brought to paſs; nor ſeem the propoſals, made to her majeſty about the war with Spain, to have had the full effect that was hoped for; becauſe, not long after, on the fifth of September, there arrived at London another embaſſador from France, named the duke of Biron, with a very noble, numerous, and ſtately equipage, to the number of three or four hundred perſons. The queen was then in Hampſhire; and, during the thirteen days ſhe was entertained at Baſing, the marquis of Wincheſter's ſeat, the duke of Biron, with his retinue, was brought to the Vine, a fair houſe in the ſaid county, of the lord Sandys, which was furniſhed with one hundred and forty beds by the neighbouring gentry, and with all other accommodations from the queen's palaces, for the reception of the ſaid embaſſador. It is more particularly to be expected, that Raleh here attended upon the court, becauſe he was commonly appointed to entertain the foreign miniſters, eſpecially of France or the States, being ſo well acquainted with thoſe people and their poli-

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cies: and when the queen left the country, we find, among the ten perſons ſhe there knighted (a greater number than ever ſhe had conferred that honour upon at one time) that one of them was Carew, the brother of ſir Walter Ralegh.

Soon after the queen's return from this progreſs, her laſt parliament met at Weſtminſter, and that was on the twenty-ſeventh day of October. This was a ſeſſion full of important buſineſs, and Ralegh appears frequently engaged in it.

The firſt ſpeech we have of ſir Walter's upon record in this parliament, was on November the fourth, and in oppoſition to the act for ſowing of hemp. "For my part, ſaid he, I do not like "this conſtraining of men to manure or uſe their "ground at our wills; but rather let every man "uſe his ground to that which it is moſt fit for, "and therein uſe his own diſcretion. For halſiers, "cables, cordage, and the like, we have plenti-"fully enough from foreign nations; and we "have countries here in England that make uſe "thereof in abundance: and the bill of tillage "may be a ſufficient motive to us in this caſe, not "to take the courſe that this bill intends. For "where the law provides, that every man muſt "plow the third part of his land, I know divers "poor people have done ſo, to avoid the penalty "of the ſtatute, when their abilities have been ſo "poor, that they have not been able to buy ſeed-"corn to ſow it withal; nay, they have been fain "to hire others to plow it; which, if it had been "unploughed, would have been good paſture for "beaſts, or might have been converted to other "good uſes."

Upon this motion, all the houſe bid away with the bill: but it was put to the queſtion, whether it ſhould be committed or no? Some doubt ari-

ſing, the the houſe was divided; and the yea's were 103, the noes 162; ſo the bill was not committed. It was afterwards put to the queſtion for ingroſſing; and, notwithſtanding Mr. Comptroller's ſpeech for the importance of it (which is not preſerved) it was denied, and ſo abſolutely rejected. Three days after, ſir Walter Ralegh was at the committee in the houſe, touching the ſubſidy. Here he moved them to conſider for what intent they came thither, and now in their coming, what was to be conſidered.

"For the ſubſidy, ſaid he, the manner and "quality thereof, I will now only intimate thus "much to you; that the laſt parliament, only "three ſubſidies were granted, upon fear that the "Spaniards were coming; but now we ſee they "are come, and have ſet foot in the queen's terri- "tories already; therefore are the more of us to "be reſpected and regarded. And, ſeeing the ſale "of her majeſty's own jewels; the great loans her "ſubjects have lent her, yet unpaid; the conti- "nual ſelling of her lands, and decaying of her "revenues; the ſparing even out of her own "purſe and apparel for our own ſakes, will not "ſerve; but ſhe muſt yet be fain to call her court "of parliament for our advice and aid in this caſe; "I wiſh, for my part, as a particular member of "the commonwealth, that we may not do leſs "than we did before; and that we may alſo boun- "tifully, according to our eſtates, contribute to "her majeſty's neceſſities, as they now ſtand."

This ſpeech was confirmed by many other members, and met with no oppoſition that we read of. But the manner of raiſing this ſubſidy created ſome ſhort debate; in which ſir Francis Haſtings moved, that the three pound men might be exempted;

empted; and all others, above that rate, to pay according to the rate, to make up a full ſubſidy.

To this ſir Walter Ralegh anſwered, "If all "pay, none will be aggrieved; if any be exempt-"ed, doubtleſs it will breed much grief; the feel-"ing will be great to thoſe three pound men that "will feel any thing; but it will be nothing to "them that know any thing."

Sir Edward Hobby, who, it ſeems, ſat next the door, not hearing well this ſpeech, ſaid, "You "ſhould ſpeak ſtanding, that the houſe might hear "you." Ralegh anſwered, That being in a committee, he might ſpeak ſitting or ſtanding:" ſo (without riſing) repeated his former words. In the end, this propoſal was agreed to, and ſecretary Cecyl reported to the whole houſe, "That moſt "voices concluded, there ſhould be no exception "of the three pound men; becauſe, according to "their rate, ſome were aſſeſſed under value; be-"ſides, ſeparation might breed emulation, ſuſpi-"cion of partiality and confuſion."

Beſides the ſpeeches Ralegh made in parliament, he appears in the committees of many other bills, and in ſeveral conferences with the lords, as may be ſeen in the journal-books of both houſes; we therefore ſhall only obſerve, that the Commons, having granted the queen a liberal ſubſidy, and her majeſty given her royal aſſent to nineteen public and ten private acts, this laſt parliament, in her reign, was diſſolved on the nineteenth of December.

Among the reſt of the particulars, we ſhall briefly relate of ſir Walter Ralegh, in this laſt year of of the queen's reign; a voyage, which he now ſet out for the ſupply of his colony in Virginia, is principally to be remembered. For, though he had made an aſſignment of his patent to other un-

dertakers, yet they making no ſucceſsful progreſs, he was careful of the Engliſh he had planted there, that he ſent to them almoſt every other year, even from the time of the ſaid aſſignment. For, beſides the five voyages before epitomized, which himſelf chiefly was at the expence of, for the firſt plantation of Virginia, we are well informed of five voyages more; which, ſince thoſe he undertook for the relief of his countrymen, as well as for further diſcoveries of thoſe parts, and alliance with the people; and, that the laſt of theſe voyages, under the command of captain Samuel Mace, was made this year. In all which, ſir Walter Ralegh might very well have diſburſed forty thouſand pounds; yet were not the Engliſh ſo ſecurely eſtabliſhed in this moſt promiſing plantation, as ſir Walter Ralegh would have had them; for, from the ſhort account we have of this laſt voyage, and other circumſtances, we may obſerve the ſaid colony was much impaired by the barbarous Indians, as indeed Ralegh's purſe ſeems alſo to have been by theſe frequent communications to it. Nor, was it without much blood, as well as money, that this ſettlement was at laſt fixed by the ſucceeding undertakers in the next reign; and all owing to the want of that timely and competent aſſiſtance from the queen or ſtate, whereby the moſt worthy attempts for the public good were even in theſe, as well as other times, ſo generally ſtarved. But Ralegh afterwards gave ſome emphatical reaſons for this misfortune; whence we may evidently perceive, it was to the queen's conſulting ſo much, and relying upon the perſuaſions of her ſcribes, men unexperienced in all warlike or adventurous enterprizes, narrow domeſtic politicians, or mere courtiers, who were moſt conſtant at her ear; that ſhe ſo frequently did things by halves, as well in conqueſts

queſts and diſcoveries, as in rewards and preferments, eſpecially of military men.

Whether the expence of thoſe voyages was the cauſe of ſir Walter Ralegh's ſelling, about this time, his eſtate, or ſome part of it, in Ireland, is not ſo expreſly told us, as that it was become leſs advantageous to him ſince the late rebellion in that kingdom. But we find, that a little before, ſir George Carew, now preſident of Munſter, took the caſtle of Carigfoyl Kerry, Mr. Richard Boyle (afterwards earl of Corke) not only bought a ſhip of ſir Walter Ralegh's, called the Pilgrim, but ſoon after the ſaid preſident conquered Brehaven caſtle, he having adviſed the ſaid Mr. Boyle to buy alſo ſir Walter's lands in Munſter, ſent him into England with two letters; the one to ſecretary Cecyl, giving an account of Mr. Boyle's abilities, deſired, that he would introduce him to ſir Walter Ralegh, and recommended him to this great man, as a proper purchaſer of his ſaid lands; the other letter was wri ten by ſir George Careſh, to ſir Walter Ralegh himſelf, acquainting him, that the bearer was capable of making the purchaſe; and that he thought he might be willing to diſpoſe of it, ſince the management thereof, in thoſe turbulent times, gave him a great deal of trouble, and the income it produced was very inconſiderable: ſo, after a meeting, the bargain was ſtruck up, and conveyances executed. Theſe lands, ſoon after, in the peaceable times, became a great eſtate to Mr. Boyle: and this purchaſe, as he afterwards gratefully remembered, in the Memoirs he wrote of his own life, when he was earl of Corke, "was the third addition and riſe to his "eſtate."

As for the eſtate at Sherborne, it appears, he now ſettled it upon his ſon Walter; and that th e

deeds were drawn in Midſummer, this preſent year, for ſo we have it from his own words.

The reaſon of ſettling his eſtate upon his ſon at this time, appears alſo to have riſen from a challange which he had lately received from ſir Amias Preſton, and which Ralegh ſays himſelf, he intended to anſwer. The cauſe of their quarrel it is not eaſy to know; but, it is probable that Ralegh had good reaſon on his ſide, becauſe he afterwards ſhewed publicly himſelf, how deliberate he was in his preparations for it, by digeſting his writings, and how reſolved, by ſettling his eſtate. But, from what excellent hands ſoever Dr. Fuller received his information, that, upon ſome diſtaſte, ſir Amias ſent Ralegh this challenge; we may be pretty certain from what Ralegh has mentioned, that the ſaid information, or this author's account of it, is erroneous, where he adds, "That ſir Walter declined it."

However, they were afterwards reconciled; and, upon the whole, ſir Walter Ralegh ſeems to have ſhewn a much more creditable conduct herein, than ſir Francis Vere a little while before had done in the difference between him and a certain nobleman.

But here we are no longer to take notice of ſuch open adverſaries; for now, in the very cloſe of this year, on the twenty-fourth of March, ends the long reign of glorious Elizabeth, and now ſets the ſun of Ralegh's external honour and felicity. How he fell into this eclipſe, record, the only luminary of time paſt, does but dimly diſcover. All we can do, is diligently to aſſemble every unextinguiſhed ſpark which darts any light this way; then ſee if they will afford that guidance to the truth, by being brought together, which they have not yet been obſerved to yield aſunder. And firſt,

firſt, we ſhould take notice of the prepoſſeſſions which Eſſex is affirmed to have inſtilled unto king James againſt Ralegh; and, after the earl's death, there are ſeveral circumſtances implying that Cecyl did the like. For though Cecyl and Ralegh joined againſt Eſſex and his faction; yet, when theſe were overthrown, they divided, they ſeem to have a trial of ſkill with one another.

In ſhort, Cecyl appeared to have uſed thoſe arts of inſinuation which king James, before his coming into England; to which Ralegh could not bend himſelf. That he then held clandeſtine correſpondencies with Scotland, is apparent from that ſtory in ſir Henry Wotton, who tells us, "That "her majeſty, taking the air on Blackheath, attended by Cecyl when the poſt rode by; and, "hearing he came from Scotland, ſhe called for "his packet: Cecyl, though he knew it contained letters, which, to diſcover, were as ſo many "ſerpents, yet, making more ſhew of diligence "than doubt, to obey, called in great haſte for a "a knife to rip it up; but, approaching at ſome "diſtance with it, he told the queen it looked and "ſmelled ſo ill-favourdly, coming out of the filthy "budget, that it muſt needs be aired firſt, be"cauſe he knew how offenſive ill ſcents were to "her majeſty: ſo got opportunity to ſeparate "what he would not have ſeen;" and ſhe ſuſpected nothing of the matter. One talent above the reſt Cecyl was not wanting in to recommend him to this new ſovereign; this was ſuch a faculty of diſcovering plots, as if he thought he ſhould be looked on as uſeleſs without them.

And, as for king James, he was ſo apprehenſive, ſo ſuſceptible of ſuch impreſſions, that, when he was but croſſed or diſturbed in his ſports, he would charge people with treaſon: nay, we are

particularly told, by thoſe who were otherwiſe friends to his memory, that his carver, once at table, giving him accidentally a nick on the finger, his majeſty, at the ſight of his own blood, could not forbear calling out treaſon; and that Guſtavus Adolphus, king of Sweden, was wont to make himſelf merry with this expreſſion. We have given theſe examples to ſhew how groundleſs king James's ſuſpicions of treaſon were.

What indeed ſeems ſufficient to have incenſed the king againſt Ralegh, was his being of that party, who, in regard of the inveterate feuds between England and Scotland, deſired the king might be obliged to articles. There were not wanting ſtill other particulars, which might render Ralegh obnoxious to a man of the king's jealous diſpoſition; "for he had (at the time of his acceſ-
"ſion to the throne) the daughter and heir of Baſ-
"ſet to his ward, who was to be married to his
"ſon Walter, her eſtate worth three thouſand
"pounds per annum; but ſhe was (after his con-
"demnation, we ſuppoſe) taken from him, and
"married to Mr. Henry Howard, who died ſud-
"denly at table; and ſhe was afterwards married
"to the earl of Newcaſtle, who profeſſed he
"would never have wedded her, if young Wal-
"ter Ralegh had been alive; conceiving her, be-
"fore God, to be his wife; for they were married
"as much as children could be."

Now theſe Baſſets, as we find elſewhere, were thoſe of Umberlegh and Heanton-Court in Devonſhire; who, being deſcended from the Plantagenets, laid ſome claim at this very time of the king's entrance to the crown of England.

But whatever diſcountenance Ralegh might receive at his firſt meeting of the king, in his journey

ney from Scotland, whence he ſet out on the fifth of April, 1603, and arrived at Theobalds, which was Cecyl's ſeat, on the third of May, and at London four days after; it ſeems not to have amounted to a peremptory diſmiſſion from his majeſty's ſervice or preſence. For we are told, "the "king uſed Ralegh for ſome weeks with great "kindneſs, and was pleaſed to acknowledge di-"vers preſents which he had received from him "being in Scotland; for which he gave him "thanks. But, finding him a martial man, ad-"dicted to foreign affairs and great actions, he "feared leſt he ſhould engage him in a war."

That Ralegh was in company with the king; and that ſome of his converſation turned upon this ſubject we have from his own words; where he ſays, "I offered his majeſty, at my uncle Ca-"rew's, to carry two thouſand men to invade the "Spaniards without the king's charge." And this agrees with his writing a diſcourſe, which he did, or intended to deliver to his majeſty againſt the peace with Spain now in treaty, which ſeems to be the ſame that was one hundred years afterwards publiſhed by his grandſon. Herein he adviſed his majeſty to protect the Netherlands; for, ſays he, "a poor neighbour's houſe, ſet on fire, "is to be better guarded or watched, than a great "city afar off." Herein he perſuades the king to deliberate, and not come to a haſty concluſion of peace with the Spaniards; "for, when the houſe "is built, it is ill mending the foundation." Herein he ſays, "I dare not write all I deſire; for I "know not to whoſe hands theſe may come. This "I beſeech your majeſty to know, that it proceeds "from an humble and a faithful heart, which your "majeſty cannot beat from the love of your royal "perſon and good eſtate."

And

And laſtly, we ſhall obſerve, that herein he likewiſe mentions another diſcourſe, "How war may "be made againſt Spain and the Indies; which I "will, ſays he, alſo preſent your majeſty, if you "will vouchſafe the reading thereof; but this, it is apprehended, has never appeared in print.

The former of theſe diſcourſes is humbly and diſcreetly addreſſed, with variety of arguments and obſervations from his own knowledge and experience; ſtrengthened with many hiſtorical examples of foreign countries, and political maxims or ſentences from the ancient claſſics: all which he had plentifully at command in any topic he undertook to write, or even ſpeak of: ſuch the extenſiveneſs of his remarks and his reading; ſuch the felicity of his memory and talents of application. But, if reaſon would have prevailed, it was not wanting alſo from other hands; ſo that ſir Walter Ralegh was not ſingular in his remonſtrances to the king, but had the ſatisfaction of ſeeing foreigners, as well as his own countrymen, ſubſcribe to his ſentiments; and the lord Henry Howard, though otherwiſe brought into the court meaſures, yet could not, it ſeems, conſent to theſe of a general pacification; therefore was, as well as Ralegh, excluded from the benefit of thoſe rich preſents, which the marquis of Roſny, embaſſador from France, made to all thoſe courtiers who promoted them; inſomuch, that Howard, being aſked by the king, "How it happen-"ed he had not a jewel as well as the reſt?" anſwered, in alluſion to Æſop's fable, "Non ſum "Gallus, itaque non reperi gemmam."

The cauſes, which moved the king of Spain to ſue for this peace, Ralegh afterwards, with great perſpicuity, laid open; but his preſent oppoſition of it, and the conſequences of that, ſeem to have been

been the hinges upon which his whole fortune now turned; the moſt apparent cauſe of all thoſe ſorrows and ſufferings which fill up the melancholy remains of his ſtory. This unfortunate event, which he was above ſhunning by temporiſing in a matter which he knew ſo highly concerned the honour and advantage of his country, he has himſelf excellently accounted for, where he ſhews the ill ſucceſs which attends ſuch ſincere conduct, and how proſperity is the fruit of ſlaviſh or hypocritical compliances.

We have already ſeen ſeveral circumſtances whereby Ralegh might undeſignedly, and unluckily become diſagreeable to a man of king James's temper; but, on the other ſide, little or nothing that could ſo inflame Ralegh againſt the king, as to make him run headlong into ſuch violent conſpiracies as could only end in his own ruin. Suppoſe the king did diſcourage Ralegh's attendance upon him at his entrance, diſlike his patent for wines, or removed him from the guards, to oblige ſir Thomas Erſkine, his countryman and favourite, whom he afterwards preferred to higher dignities; will this be thought ſufficient provocation for a man of Ralegh's reaſon and judgment, ſo tender of fame and reputation, ſo ſettled in family, ſo well ſituated in his fortune, no leſs than three thouſand pounds a year, as was confeſſed at his trial, beſides many other profitable poſſeſſions, the ſeas as well as the land, to plot commotions or inſurrections; yet enervate himſelf for the execution of them, by reſigning, as he ſays himſelf he did, his office of chiefeſt power, the wardſhip of the Stannaries? Nay, further, to herd with a motley and disjointed crew of prieſts, alſo with profeſſed enemies to himelf, not to mention knaves and

and fools; and, on a ſudden, reſolve to turn rebel, ruffian and cut throat; to be the Coryphæus, to murder the king with his own hand, and all his innocent progeny? For this is the charge that the fertile pens of French writers have heaped upon him. Now theſe tell over this deſperate ſtory thus:

"In the month of June, ſir Walter Ralegh, a "man equally dexterous at conſultation or action, "ſays Thuanus, and famous for his memorable "expeditions to the Indies, taking leave of his "ſiſter at London, entreated her to commend him "to God in her prayers, for he was going to a "place from whence he expected never to return. "She, ſuſpecting that he was going to fight a "duel, with the ſame levity diſperſed it among "the ladies of her acquaintance, till the rumour "came to court. Then Ralegh's friends and re-"lations flocked about him to know this enter-"prize; he, apprehending himſelf detected, rea-"dily made a whole confeſſion and diſcovery of the "matter. The king was informed, and greatly "aſtoniſhed, but would needs have Ralegh be-"fore him, who, then aſking his pardon, acknow-"ledged, that, ſeeing his majeſty give more coun-"tenance to the Scots than the Engliſh, and had "deprived him of his command in the guards, and "that many great men expected, when he was "eſtabliſhed on the throne, he would be revenged "for the death of his mother, he had therefore "entered into a conſpiracy with others, whom he "named, to ſhed his royal blood; and that they "had unanimouſly deputed him to be his majeſty's "executioner, when he rode a hunting. Here-"upon the ſaid conſpirators were taken up and "tried, as theſe authors proceed to relate."

If

If there had been any truth in this ridiculous ſtory, that confeſſion had neither eſcaped the attorney-general Coke at Ralegh's trial, when they were ſo lamely put to it to bring him in guilty without ſufficient proof, nor king James's apologetical declaration after Ralegh's death, in which his majeſty and his council together, have no leſs lamely offered weaker reaſons for taking away his life, as will be fully repreſented in its proper place.

By our Engliſh accounts it appears there was ſomewhat of a plot, but it was never proved that Ralegh was engaged in it; however, his great enemy, the attorney-general Coke, affected to compare him with the conſpirators, "to Sampſon's "foxes, which were joined in the tails, though "their heads were ſevered." What ſhare he had in that plot may further be judged by the promotions which the conſpirators intended themſelves upon the ſucceſs of it; for whereas one was to be lord-chancellor, another lord-marſhal, this lord-treaſurer, that maſter of the horſe, and t'other ſecretary of ſtate; how comes it, as one author well obſerves, that Ralegh, able to officiate any, had no office in the ſtate aſſigned him? But perhaps the beſt means to clear him, may be the very trial by which he was condemned.

It is too common, and too tedious, to be thought needful of tranſcribing it here at length; not to ſay ſo full of barbarous partiality and foul language, eſpecially by Coke himſelf, that he was expoſed for it upon the public theatre; and thoſe, who revere the laws of our country, have been ſo aſhamed of it, as rather to wiſh the proceedings have been falſely related, than believe ſuch a ſentence could paſs upon ſuch inſufficient evidence. But the character

racter of this trial, and of that attorney-general, we leave to others; and ſhall here only, from the ſeveral copies or accounts of it, draw out a ſhort regular narrative of the moſt material matters of fact, wherein Ralegh appears any way concerned; and it is as follows:

There was one Matthew de Laurencie, a merchant of Antwerp, attendant on count Aremberg, who now, about the beginning of June, came over embaſſador-extraordinary from Albert, archduke of Auſtria, to congratulate king James, and aſſiſt in bringing about the general peace. With this merchant the lord Cobham had intelligence ſome years before, upon matters of ſtate, with licence. Five days after Aremberg's arrival, that is to ſay, about the ninth of the ſame month, Cobham repaired to him with Laurencie, and that night Cobham ſupped with ſir Walter Ralegh at Durham houſe in the Strand; whereby Ralegh came to underſtand, that Cobham had freſh negociations with Aremberg; and was, as the chief of thoſe who refuſed the peace, offered a ſum of money by Cobham to be a promoter of it; though that offer, alſo made to Ralegh before Aremberg came, was afterwards pretended, as will appear, to have been for treaſonable purpoſes.

In the next month, thoſe perſons with whom Cobham tranſacted the conſpiracy, or part of it, then on foot, were diſcovered; either by the Spaniſh faction in revenge to Ralegh, the greateſt enemy of Spain alive, thinking he was then too far hampered in, or acquainted with it, to eſcape; or by ſome one of the Engliſh conſpirators to ſecure himſelf: and when the lord Cecyl (for he was lately made baron of Eſſenden) found, upon the firſt news of Anthony Copley, one of theſe conſpirators,

rators, who was apprehended on the ſixth of July, that the king's perſon was to be ſurprized by the lord Grey of Wilton, and George Brook, brother to the lord Cobham, he ſuſpected Cobham himſelf was in the ſecret; and Cobham's great intimacy with Ralegh at this time, who was now buying an eſtate for him, and ſettling his houſhold affairs, drew alſo into Ralegh ſuſpicion.

Hereupon Cecyl, meeting Ralegh upon Windſor Terrace, tells him, "the lords of the council "had ſomething to ſay to him:" ſo he was examined about the ſurpriſing treaſon, and particularly about Cobham, as appears from his own words, whom he fully cleared. After examination, Ralegh further ſaid, "Whatſoever correſpondence "there was between Cobham and Aremberg, "Laurencie might be better able to give account "of it; therefore adviſed to the calling upon him; "though," as he further explained, "he knew "of no intelligence between them, but ſuch as "might be warranted:" and that advice he wrote alſo in a letter to Cecyl.

When Ralegh returned from examination a private priſoner to his own houſe, Cobham ſent to him to know what had paſſed; Ralegh writ an anſwer by captain Keymis, That he was examined, and had cleared him of all; and Keymis bid Cobham be of good comfort, for one witneſs could not condemn him. This precaution, to arm Cobham againſt making diſcoveries, was, after his confeſſion of it, objected againſt Ralegh; but he utterly denied, that he ſent any ſuch verbal meſſage.

Now, when Cobham was brought to his examination at Richmond, one date whereof appears to have been the eighteenth of July; and after he had, by a conſtant denial, cleared both himſelf and Ralegh of all that was queſtioned againſt them,

Cobham

Cobham was, by device, ſays my author (in an epiſtolary narrative of his trial, at which he was preſent) induced to think, that Ralegh had firſt impeached and betrayed him. For that part of Ralegh's letter aforeſaid to Cecyll, referring the lords to Laurencie for Cobham's tranſactions with Aremberg, being ſhewed to Cobham, and accompanied, it ſeems, with ſuch artful ſuggeſtions as were proper to inflame a man of Cobham's weakneſs, had the deſired effect; for he, being led thereby to imagine that Ralegh had accuſed him of all, or more than he knew, burſt out into vehement exclamations againſt Ralegh; and in his rage, or madneſs, made the following confeſſion: That, having a paſſport to go to the Spaniſh king, he intended firſt to confer with the archduke; and, becauſe he knew he had not money to pay his own army, meant from thence to go to Spain, to deal with the king for ſix hundred thouſand crowns; then to return by Jerſey; and that nothing ſhould be done about the diſtribution of that money to the diſcontented in England, till he had ſpoken with ſir Walter Ralegh; further, that he had never entered into theſe courſes, but by his inſtigation; he ſpeaks alſo of plots, but of the particulars could give no account; yet acknowledged that he was afraid that Ralegh, upon his return to Jerſey, would have him and the money to the king.

After all this, before Cobham departed to the ſtair-foot, he retracted his confeſſion, and profeſſed he had done Ralegh wrong: nor does it appear, ſays my author, that he did ſubſcribe it.

In another branch of his examination, Cobham ſaid he had of Ralegh a book, written againſt the king's title, which he gave to his brother Brook, and that Ralegh ſaid it was fooliſhly written; but this he alſo retracted, as we ſhall hear. Upon this,

and

and other parts of his confeſſion more foreign to Ralegh, concerning the advancement of lady Arabella Stuart to the crown, as alſo from that of George Brook, a known enemy to Ralegh, as Cecyl could not deny; aſſerting his brother Cobham told him (though Cobham, in his confeſſion, refuſed to own it) the lord Grey and others were only on the bye, but he and Ralegh were on the main; "thereby meaning," ſaid Brook, "the "taking away of the king and his iſſue;" together with what Ralegh acknowledged in his own examination, That Cobham offered him eight thouſand crowns for his furtherance of the peace, though the lord Cecyl and earl of Northumberland were to have the ſame proffers; and that in ſome diſcourſes he might have ſaid, The way to invade England was to begin with ſtirs in Scotland.

Upon theſe circumſtances, Ralegh was indicted at Stanes on the twenty-firſt of September following; and from hence that heavy indictment appears to have been accumulated upon him, which we ſee prefixed to his trial. Three days after Cobham and Grey were alſo indicted at the ſame place; and, not long after this, they were all three returned priſoners to the Tower of London.

When the time of their trial drew nigh, that is to ſay in the beginning of November, Ralegh got a poor fellow in the Tower to caſt up a letter, faſtened to an apple, in at Cobham's window, while the lieutenant was at ſupper, to intreat him (becauſe he knew not but Cobham might be arraigned before him) for God's ſake, to do him juſtice by his anſwer, and ſignify to him, that he had wronged him in his accuſation: and Cobham did, by an anſwer under his hand, confeſs the ſame; which not being ſo full and expreſſive as Ralegh expected, he afterwards ſent Cobham another letter, deſiring

he would publiſh his innocence at his arraignment: but, notwithſtanding Ralegh did not now requeſt any further juſtification under his hand, Cobham ſent him another anſwer, clearing him in the moſt ſolemn and perfect manner, as will preſently appear.

Now, by reaſon of the plague, which raged ſo violently in and about London, the term having been proclaimed to be held at Wincheſter, the ſtate priſoners, who were thus indicted for the plot, were conveyed thither in great pomp. We find that Ralegh went in his own coach, under the cuſtody of ſir Robert Manſell, on the tenth of November, to Bagſhot in Surry, twenty-four miles from London; and, two days after, from thence, the other thirty miles, to the caſtle at Wincheſter. The conſpirators conducted thither at the ſame time, were George Brook, under the charge of ſir William Wade; ſir Griffin Markham, under ſir Robert Worth; beſides ſir Edward Parham, Bartholomew Brookſby, Anthony Copley; alſo William Watſon and William Clark, two prieſts, under-wardens of the Tower, and the keeper of the Gate-houſe, together with a guard of fifty light-horſe. As for Cobham and Grey, they ſet out ſix days, and arrived three days, before at the ſaid caſtle, under the like guard.

And here Cobham having been prevailed on to make freſh accuſations in a letter to the lords, at leaſt ſubſcribed with his name, which will be produced a little further, Ralegh's trial was firſt brought on; and this was on the ſeventeenth of the month aforeſaid. He excepted not againſt his jury, being all ſtrangers: but we are told by one who ſeems to have had good intelligence of this matter, That there was appointed for Ralegh another jury, the foreman of which was ſir Michael Stanhope, the next ſir William Darcy, the next ſir Edward

Edward Killegrew, all men of honour, and near ſervants to the late queen: but theſe being found not for their turn, they were all changed over night, and thoſe others (named in the common printed trial) put in their places.

After the indictment had been opened and aggravated, ſerjeant Heath and attorney Coke, in ſpeeches manifeſtly fathering the treaſons of the reſt upon Ralegh for no other reaſon but becauſe he was a man of wit and a warrior, Cobham's examination was read as before quoted. Here Ralegh firſt ſhewed the unreaſonableneſs and improbability of the accuſation therein againſt him, as follows:

"It is ſtrange for me," ſaid he, "to deviſe with "Cobham, that he ſhould go to Spain to perſuade "the king to diſburſe ſo much money, he being a "man of no love in England; and I having re-"ſigned my room of chiefeſt command, the war-"denſhip of the ſtannaries; it is ſtrange for me to "make myſelf a Robin Hood, or a Ket, or a Cade, "I knowing England to be in a better ſtate than "ever it was. I knew Scotland united, Ireland "quieted, Denmark aſſured, which before was "ſuſpected. I knew, that having a lady, whom "Time had ſurpriſed, we had now a lawful ſuc-"ceſſor. The ſtate of Spain was not unknown to "me. I had written a diſcourſe, which I intended "to preſent unto the king againſt the peace with "Spain. I knew the Spaniard had ſix repulſes, "three in Ireland and three at ſea; and once, in "1588, by my lord-admiral alſo at Cadiz. I knew "he was diſcharged and diſhonoured. I knew the "king of Spain to be the proudeſt prince living, "but now he comes creeping to my maſter for a "peace. I knew, whereas he had before in his "ports ſix or ſeven ſcore ſail of ſhips, he has now "but ſix or ſeven. I knew of twenty-five millions

" he had from his Indies, he has ſcarce one left. " I knew him ſo poor, that the jeſuits in Spain " were fain to beg at the church-door.

" Was it ever read, or heard, that any prince " ſhould diſburſe ſo much money without a ſuffi- " cient pawn? I knew her own ſubjects, the ci- " tizens of London, would not lend her majeſty " money, without lands in mortgage. I knew the " queen did not lend the ſtates money without " Fluſhing, Brill, and other towns, for a ſecurity; " and can it be thought he would let Cobham have " ſo great a ſum?

" I never came to the lord Cobham's but about " matters of his profit, as the ordering of his " houſe; and I had of his, when I was examin'd, " four thouſand pounds worth of jewels for a pur- " chaſe, a pearl of three thouſand pounds, and a " ring worth five hundred pounds. If he had had " a fancy to run away, he would not have left ſo " much money to purchaſe a leaſe in Fee-farm. " I ſaw him buy three hundred pounds worth of " books to ſend to his library at Canterbury, " and a cabinet of three hundred pounds to give " Mr. Attorney for drawing the conveyances; and " God in Heaven knows, not I, whether, he " intended to travel: but, for the practice with " Arabella, or letters to Aremberg, or any diſ- " courſe with him, or in what language he ſpake " unto him; if I knew any of theſe things, I would " abſolutely confeſs the indictments, and acknow- " ledge myſelf worthy of a thouſand deaths."

And a little further, concerning Cobham's examination: " He that hath been examined, has " ever been aſked if it be according to his mean- " ing, and then to ſubſcribe. Methinks, my " lords, when he accuſes a man, he ſhould give " ſome account and reaſon of it; it is not ſufficient

" to

" to ſay we talked of it. If I had been the plotter, " would not I have given Cobham ſome arguments " whereby to perſuade the king of Spain, and an- " ſwer his objections? I knew Weſtmoreland and " Bothwell, men of other underſtandings than Cob- " ham, were ready to beg their bread."

Here being obſtructed by other matters, the attorney fell into that paſſage of Cobham's telling Brook, " You are on the bye, Ralegh and I are on the " the main." But Cobham would not confirm his ever having ſaid ſuch words. Brook, who had pretended he did ſay them, was allowed to have been Ralegh's enemy; ſo the expreſſion was not proved.

Another matter they inſiſted much upon, was the book Cobham ſaid he had of Ralegh, written againſt the king's title. This was nothing more than, A Defence of the Queen's Proceedings againſt Mary, queen of Scotland, written by one Robert Snag, a lawyer, and found by Ralegh in the library of the late lord-treaſurer Burlegh, which he had liberty of ſearching for ſome geographical deſcriptions of the Weſt-Indies. Ralegh had declared to Cobham that it was fooliſhly written, but denied that he gave it him; and though Cobham, in his examination, ſaid it was given him by Ralegh, he revoked that confeſſion upon being further queſtioned about it, as one of the lords of the council owned; and ſaid, The truth was, he took the ſame of himſelf out of ſir Walter Ralegh's ſtudy when he was aſleep.----So much to be depended on were lord Cobham's accuſations. But there was nothing acted thereby to the king's prejudice, for the book was burnt.

As for the evidence of a rumour in Liſbon, brought into court by one Dyer, a pilot, who an-

ſwering a queſtion, When the king would be crowned? made by ſomebody or other there, That he hoped it would be ſhortly; was told again, It ſhould never be; for don Ralegh and don Cobham would cut his throat firſt: Ralegh made light of it, as of ſuch a rumour and ſuch a witneſs he might; and ſaid, If Cobham had practice with Aremberg, it might be well known abroad: and, that the duke of Buckingham was named with Jack Straw's treaſon to countenance it. But none of theſe little circumſtances were much inſiſted on; and we are told by one who was preſent, That, touching the ſetting up of Arabella, nothing at all was proved; nor touching the invaſion here, or ſedition in Scotland, or even the deſtruction of the king, &c.

"The proof againſt Ralegh," as the ſame writer continues a little further, "did reſt only upon "Cobham's accuſation, and ſome preſumptions, "whereof that only was the ground; therefore "Ralegh ſpent moſt of the time in diſabling that "accuſation, as being only uttered in fury and "paſſion;" through the device aforeſaid of making Cobham believe that Ralegh had firſt accuſed him. Beſides, that he had renounced and repented it; and although "afterwards by prac-"tice," ſays my author, "he did affirm it, yet "would he never be brought to ſet his hand to the "examination; all which was clear."

Then Ralegh, ſeeing this retraction ſo unjuſtly overlooked, "laboured to prove theſe two points "out of ſcripture, civil law, ſtatute law, common "law, and conſcience; in every of which he had "been plentifully read," as the ſame auditor of his arraignment goes on, "firſt, that there ought to "be produced againſt him two witneſſes; ſecondly, "that his accuſer might be brought to accuſe him

"face

"face to face." Agreeable hereto are Ralegh's own words, after he had urged the ſtatutes of Edward III. Edward VI. and queen Elizabeth; produced the opinions of judges in the law, and precedents from their writings; beſides teſtimonies from the Old and New Teſtament; where he ſays, "If by the ſtatute, civil law, and God's word, it "be required that there muſt be two witneſſes at "leaſt, bear with me, if I deſire but one." But truly it was an unreaſonable requeſt; thoſe ſtatutes were repealed, and the law would not allow of it now; though we are informed that king James himſelf, taking notice how Cobham was with-held, "If he could have ſpoken any thing againſt Ra-"legh, they would have brought him from Con-"ſtantinople to have accuſed him. Well therefore might he deſire the jury to conſider, "There is no "cauſe ſo doubtful, which the king's council can-"not make good againſt the law. Theſe men do "uſually defend bad cauſes every day againſt men "of their own profeſſion, and as able as them-"ſelves: if they can do ſo, what may they not do "with me, who never ſtudied law till I came into "the Tower of London, who have been practiſed "in other affairs; am weak of memory, and feeble, "as you ſee?" for he was fain to have a pen and ink to help him in the long ſpeeches that were made againſt him.

Then ſaid he more cloſely to them, "If you "would be content to be judged upon ſuſpicions "and inferences; if you would not have your ac-"cuſation ſubſcribed by your accuſer; if you would "not have your accuſer brought to your face (be-"ing in the ſame houſe too) where you are ar-"raigned; if you would be condemned by an ac-"cuſation of one that has recanted, and is truly

" ſorrowful for it; if you, in my caſe, would yield " your bodies to torture, loſe your lives, your " wives and children, and all your fortunes, upon " ſo ſlender a proof; then am I ready to ſuffer all " theſe things;" or, as the common trial has it, " if you would be contented to be ſo judged, " judge ſo of me."

Now, though Ralegh at laſt put himſelf on it, that if Cobham would only ſpeak before God and the king, That ever he knew either of Arabella's matter, or the money out of Spain, or of the ſurpriſing treaſon, or would accuſe him with things equivalent, in any main point, or any ways to have been an inſtigator of him to deal with the king of Spain; yet would they not let Cobham confront him, or give his teſtimony viva voce; and, though Ralegh did not directly conſent to be determined by Cobham's accuſation, if they ſhould now produce it juſtified under his hand; yet he was forced to ſubmit to what they had in reſerve of this kind, which was the letter above-mentioned, written to the lords at Wincheſter the day before the trial.

Some ſay this letter was not written by Cobham himſelf; but that ſir William Wade, one of Cecyl's creatures, tampering with his weakneſs, got Cobham to write his name to a blank; to which Wade no doubt wrote the accuſation. Others imply, that Cobham did himſelf write it; though, after he was inſtructed by a letter from his lady, that there was no way to ſave his own life but to accuſe Ralegh; and that it was ſo reported upon the going together of the jury. This letter was read with great triumph and exultation by Coke, as follows:

I HAVE thought it fit to ſet down this to my " lords, wherein I profeſs on my ſoul to write no-

" thing

" thing but the truth. I am come now near to " the period of my time; therefore I confeſs the " truth before God and his angels.

" Ralegh, four days before I came from the " Tower, cauſed an apple to be thrown in at my " chamber-window: the effect of it was, to en- " treat me to right the wrong I had done him, in " ſaying I would come home by Jerſey; which " under my hand to him I have retracted. His " firſt letter was thrown in the ſame manner, " wherein he prayed me to write him a letter, " which I did. He ſent me word the judges met " at Mr. attorney's houſe; and that there was good " hope the proceedings againſt us ſhould be ſtaid. " He ſent me another time a little tobacco.

" At Aremberg's coming, Ralegh dealt with me " to procure him a penſion of fifteen hundred " pounds a year; for which he promiſed that no " action ſhould be againſt Spain, but he would give " knowledge before hand. He told me the ſtates " had audience with the king. He hath been the " original cauſe of my ruin; for I had no dealing " with Aremberg, but by his inſtigation. He hath " been the cauſe of my diſcontentments; he ad- " viſed me not to be overtaken with preachers, as " Eſſex was; and that the king would better al- " low of a conſtant denial, than to accuſe any."

But this advice to a denial, and by that example, and the deſire of any ſuch penſion from Spain, Ralegh proteſted to be falſe. And further, to ſhew them what a baſe diſhonourable recreant Cobham was, he pulled out the letter which Cobham a few days before wrote to him voluntarily in the Tower, deſiring the lord Cecyl to read it, becauſe he knew his hand; and that the jury would obſerve

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if Cobham's teſtimony were of any credit with them, how much more ſolemnly it was writ to clear, than the other to condemn him; being in theſe words:

"SEEING myſelf ſo near my end; for the "diſcharge of my own conſcience, and freeing my- "ſelf from your blood, which elſe will cry venge- "ance againſt me; I proteſt, upon my ſalvation, "I never practiſed with Spain by your procure- "ment; God ſo comfort me in this my affliction, "as you are a true ſubject for any thing that I "know. I will ſay with Daniel, Purus ſum a ſan- "guine hujus: So God have mercy on my ſoul, "as I know no treaſon by you."

This was the laſt evidence given; yet the jury brought in their verdict guilty. This letter, laſt produced to acquit Ralegh, not prevailing with them ſo much, it ſeems, as the letter before, which was laſt, though leſs forcibly, written by Cobham to accuſe him; "which, all things con- "ſidered," ſays the perſon who heard the whole trial, "was no more to be weighed than the bark- "ing of a dog; and I would not," continues he, "for much, to have been of the jury, to have "found him guilty."

"Some of this jury," we are further told, "were, "after he was caſt, ſo far touched in conſcience, "as to demand of him pardon on their knees; and "even Coke, the attorney himſelf, being retired "into a garden to take ſome air, when his man "brought him word that the jury had condemned "Ralegh of treaſon, anſwered, Surely thou art "miſtaken, for I myſelf accuſed him but of miſ- "priſion of treaſon; and this relation, upon the "word of a Chriſtian, I have received," ſays this author, "from ſir Edward Coke's own mouth."

Sentence

Sentence being given, Ralegh humbly deſired the king might know the proofs againſt him; that he ſtill perſiſted in his loyalty, notwithſtanding that verdict; which he prayed that his ſaid jury might never anſwer for; and only craved pardon for concealing lord Cobham's offer to him, which he did through a confidence that he had diverted him from thoſe humours: ſo accompanied the ſheriff to priſon "with admirable reſolution, yet in "ſuch ſort as a condemned man ſhould do."

Thus was he tired out of his life, as an eminent author obſerves, by the cavilling of the king's counſel on one ſide, and the Bench's inſiſting on a confeſſion, extorted from the lord Cobham out of fear, on the other, rather than convicted. In this manner did his adverſaries reap diſhonour and reproach in their victory, while he received triumphant applauſes in his overthrow; like ſome flowers which are ſweeter in their fall than others in their bloom.

One of his auditors ſays, "He behaved himſelf "ſo worthily, ſo wiſely, ſo temperately, that in "half a day the mind of all the company was "changed from the extremeſt hate to the extremeſt "pity." And another ſays, that "Sir Walter Ra-"legh's carriage was moſt remarkable; firſt, to "the lords, humble, yet not proſtrate; towards "the jury, affable, but not fawning, rather ſhew-"ing love of life than fear of death; towards the "king's counſel, patient, but not inſenſibly neg-"lecting, and not yielding to imputations laid "againſt him in words: and it was wondered, that "a man of his heroic ſpirit, could be ſo valiant in "ſuffering, that he was never overtaken in paſſion, "&c."

On the other ſide, as to Coke's behaviour, we ſhall thus account for it; that, if Eſſex was known

to

to have ever been in any wiſe a friend or patron to him, as it appears he was in a private memorial of an honourable perſon, who was of the ſame college in Oxford with Ralegh, and almoſt of the ſame ſtanding; then Coke might perhaps think of retrieving himſelf in the eye of the world, and makeing attonement for his ingratitude to the ſaid earl at his trial, and to his memory after his death, by his inhumanity to one of the contrary faction.

Cecyl, on the other ſide, played a ſmooth edge upon Ralegh throughout the trial: his blade ſeemed ever anointed with the ſoft phraſe of ſpeech, whereby he gave not ſuch rough and painful wounds, though they were as deep and fatal as the other. But Ralegh could diſtinguiſh between diſſembled friendſhip on one ſide, as well as affected wiſdom on another.

That Ralegh expected nothing leſs than this kind of treatment, is plain by the letter which he wrote to the king himſelf immediately before his trial; wherein he ſays,

"I know that, among many preſumptions ga-
"thered againſt me, your majeſty has been per-
"ſuaded, that I was one of thoſe who were greatly
"diſcontented, and therefore the more likely to
"prove diſloyal; but the great God of heaven
"and earth diſclaim me from both worlds, if I
"were not the contrary, and if I took not great
"comfort to behold your majeſty always learning
"ſome good, and bettering my knowledge by your
"majeſty's diſcourſe." He adds a little further,
"For my part, I proteſt, before the ever living
"God, that I never intended treaſon, conſented
"to treaſon, or performed treaſon againſt you;
"and yet I know I ſhall fall into their hands, è
"quibus non poſſum evadere, unleſs by your ma-
"jeſty's gracious compaſſion I be ſuſtained."

In

In other letters to the lords, ſpeaking of the two principal accuſations againſt him, he ſays, "The firſt was, that money was offered me with "a pretence to maintain the amity, but the in-"tent was to have aſſiſted his majeſty's ſurprize: "the other, that I was privy to my lord Cobham's "Spaniſh journey.

"For the firſt, it ſeems, this money was offered "to others long after it was offered to me, and "upon other conſiderations than it was to me. "For myſelf, I avow, upon my allegiance, that I "never knew or ſuſpected either the man or the "new invention. To me it was but once propound-"ed, and in three weeks after I never heard more "of it; neither did I believe that he had any "commiſſion to offer it; for, if that word Amity "had been uſed to me colourably, I muſt have "been alſo made acquainted with the true end for "which it ſhould have been given; which it ſeems "was for the ſurprize: but of any ſuch horrible "purpoſe, if ever I had ſo much as a ſuſpicion, I "refuſe your lordſhip's favour, and the king's "mercy. I know your lordſhips have omitted "nothing to find out the truth; but, as you have "not erred, like ill ſurgeons, to lay on plaiſters "too narrow for ſo great wounds, ſo I truſt that "you will not imitate unlearned phyſicians, to "give medicines more cruel than the diſeaſe it-"ſelf. For the journey into Spain, I know I was "accuſed to be privy thereto; but I know your "lordſhips have a reputation of conſcience, as "well as induſtry. By what means that revenge-"ful accuſation was ſtirred, you, my lord Cecyl, "know right well, that it was my letter about "Keymis; and your lordſhips all know whether "it be maintained, or whether, out of truth, and "out of a Chriſtian conſideration, it be revoked."

A little

A little further he ſays, "God knows, and I "can give an account of it, that I have ſpent forty "thouſand pounds of my own againſt that king "and nation; that I never reſerved ſo much of all "my fortunes, as to purchaſe forty pounds per "annum land; that I have been a violent proſe- "cutor and furtherer of all enterprizes againſt that "nation: I have ſerved againſt them in perſon; "and how, my lord admiral, and my lord of Suf- "folk can witneſs. I diſcovered, myſelf, the "richeſt part of all his Indies; I have planted in "his territories: I offered his majeſty, at my "uncle Carew's, to carry two thouſand men to "invade him without the king's charge. Alas! "to what end ſhould we live in the world, if all "the endeavours of ſo many teſtimonies ſhould be "blown off with one blaſt of breath, or be pre- "ſented by one man's word. Think therefore, I "beſeech you, on my great affliction with com- "paſſion; who loſt my eſtate, and the king's fa- "vour, upon one man's word; and, as you would "that God ſhould deal with you, deal with me."

He concludes in this manner: "Your lord- "ſhips know, that I am guiltleſs of the ſurprize "intended; you know, or may know, that I "never accepted of the money, and that it was "not offered me for any ill; and of the Spaniſh "journey, I truſt your conſciences are reſolved. "Keep not then, I beſeech you, theſe my an- "ſwers and humble deſires from my ſovereign "lord, Qui eſt rex pius & miſrecors, & non leo "coronatus."

In another letter to the king after his trial, he has theſe words: "Loſt I am for hearing a vain "man, for hearing only, and never believing or "approving; and ſo little account I made of that "ſpeech of his, which was my condemnation,

"that

" that I never remembered any ſuch thing, till it " was at my trial objected againſt me;" and nobly concludes, with a deſire only to repay a lent life in love and affection equal to the goodneſs wherewith his majeſty ſhould pleaſe to beſtow it.

If theſe letters had any good effect, it appeared not immediately, Ralegh being kept near a month at Wincheſter after he was condemned, in daily expectation of death. We find, that when the report of the arraignments was made to the king in his Privy-chamber at Wilton, he behaved ſo reſervedly, that no body could gueſs how well he was ſatisfied with the equality of condemnation, till he made himſelf a difference in the puniſhment.

The two prieſts were executed on the twenty-ninth of November, and George Brook on the fifth of December following. His majeſty alſo ſigned warrants for Cobham, Grey, and Markham, to be beheaded on the ninth day of the ſaid month. This might be owing to the extraordinary diſappointment of that confeſſion which was expected from one of the three next to be executed; for the time being come, Markham was firſt brought to the ſcaffold; and, having ended his ſpeech and prayers, with all he had to ſay, being on his knees, ready to receive the ſtroke of the axe, John Gibb, groom of the king's bedchamber, ſtept up to ſir Benjamin Tichbourne, the ſheriff of Hampſhire, with his majeſty's warrant, to ſtay the execution; and Markham was told he muſt withdraw awhile into the hall, to be confronted by the lords. Then lord Grey was brought upon the ſtage; and he is ſaid to have poured out his prayers and his confeſſion, though not one word of them are to be found upon record, who was alſo called aſide.

Laſtly,

Laſtly, Cobham was brought, and expoſed in the ſame manner; and his devotions to God are mentioned; but not a word of the treaſon, his guilt or innocence, or concerning any promoter of his diſloyalty or diſcontent. When he had done, the ſheriff unravelled the plot, by proclaiming and magnifying his majeſty's mercy, as we have it in the ſame author, who cannot forbear comparing his own relation to a comedy, "repreſenting ſo "many lively figures of juſtice and mercy in a "king, of terror and penitence in offenders, and "of ſo great admiration and applauſe in all others, "as appeared in this action, carried on only and "wholly by his majeſty's own direction." In ſhort, the whole proceeding is ſo full of inconſiſtencies, ſlanders, and ſuch like odious effects of a falſe and malicious proſecution, that we may well conclude with that hiſtorian, who ſays, "the king had "ground enough to ſhew mercy, which ſome of "the condemned party obtained."

But Ralegh, it ſeems, did laſt taſte it, and for no other apparent reaſon, but becauſe he was the only one whom his enemies ſtill wanted matter to exclude from it; as may be gathered from Cecyl, who wrote to a correſpondent three days after the king's warrant of ſuſpence, to the others before mentioned; where, among theſe wonderful inſtances of his majeſty's clemency, we are told, "He pretended to forbear ſir Walter Ralegh for "the preſent, till the lord Cobham's death had "given ſome light how far he would make good "his accuſation:" and, though we hear not that "he ever did make it good, yet was the pretended time of Ralegh's execution ſo determined, however we find not, that he, like the reſt, was ever brought to the place; that he wrote, what he intended for his laſt words, to his wife, the night before

before he expected to be put to death, in a very moving letter, full of the moſt generous acknowledgments, of the wiſeſt, moſt religious and affectionate advice to her, no leſs than the moſt heroic and magnanimous accents in regard to himſelf, and to that ſuffering which the vulgar ſo naturally ſhrink at.

It is too long to recite in this place, and may be eaſily met with in his works. The hiſtorical paſſages in it acquaint us, that his lands were conveyed to his ſon; that he intended his wife the profits of his wine-office, half his goods, and all his jewels, except ſome one to his ſon; that Baily owed him two hundred, or as other editions have it, one thouſand pounds; and his brother Adrian Gilbert ſix hundred; that he had alſo much money owing him in Jerſey, beſides the arrearages of the wines, which would pay all his debts. Towards the concluſion, he intreats her "to get thoſe letters, if it be poſſible, which I writ, ſaid he, to "the lords, wherein I ſued for my life. God is "my witneſs, that it was for you and yours that I "deſired life. But, it is true, that I diſdain myſelf for begging it; for know it, dear wife, that "your ſon is the ſon of a true man, and one, who, "in his own reſpect, deſpiſes death, and all his "miſhapen and ugly forms."

But, after all this uſage, Cobham never confirming his accuſation of ſir Walter Ralegh, they both were, with the reſt of the priſoners, returned, on the fifteenth of December, to the Tower of London: thoſe, of whom the leaſt profit was to be made, were either acquitted, or afterwards got their liberty; among whom was Markham, who travelled abroad, but endured greater diſtreſs in his ſtate of freedom, than he had in his reſtraint. Grey, it ſeems, died in the Tower;

and Cobham was in a worſe condition, for he would have ſtarved there, being almoſt fleeced, by the court beggars, of his great eſtate, had they not alſo laid thereby a kind of a fine upon his majeſty for his offences; the crown being impoſed upon to ſupport him in his many years confinement, as Ralegh himſelf has ſufficiently diſcovered. And here, to cloſe what remains of this lord relating to our preſent hiſtory, we may obſerve, that ſome years after their confinement, Ralegh is ſaid to have himſelf procured a re-examination of Cobham, and to have been abſolutely cleared by him.

But the practices which were uſed againſt him therein, are repreſented ſo foul and wicked, as to have given ſome, whoſe intereſt it was to favour the adminiſtrations of theſe times, occaſion to ſuſpect the aſſertion; though it is corroborated by ſeveral material circumſtances, as well as the teſtimony of coeval writers.

But, to return to more early paſſages in Ralegh's impriſonment, and to conſider his ſtate, as it appears at his entrance therein, we may very eaſily believe, he was at firſt in very great trouble to be ſo ſuddenly, and in ſuch a manner, deprived of power, fortune, liberty, and reputation; but find nothing to confirm the extraordinary dejection one writer deſcribes him under; where he ſays, "In "the public joy and jubilee of the whole realm, "when favour, peace, and pardon were offered "even to offenders; he, who in wit, in wealth, "in courage, was inferior to few, fell ſuddenly "into ſuch a downfall of deſpair, that his greateſt "enemies would not have wiſhed him ſo much "harm, as he would have done himſelf;" for we have ſeen he had enemies, who would have done him the injury that could not be exceeded, had not

not the king, in ſome degree of juſtice, rather than mercy to him, interpoſed, and ſecured him, as well from being quite deſtroyed by, as taking revenge on them: beſides, that letter to his wife before-mentioned, when his fate appeared neareſt and moſt unavoidable to him, demonſtrates the firmneſs and fortitude of a man, who could receive death as an acquaintance, rather than a ſtranger; or one, who, having ſo often gone to face him among the foes to his country abroad, could, with equal ſteadineſs and compoſure of mind, meet him from thoſe at home. Indeed, the affairs of a perſon, who had ſuch various and extenſive dealings, or commerce with mankind, could not but be ſomewhat perplexed and embarraſſed, upon a fall ſo ſudden and unexpected; therefore, to find him employing agents for collecting in debts, and ſatisfying creditors, is to be expected.

Thus, in one of his letters to ſir Michael Hext, he deſires him to ſpare John Shellbury for a little time, he being bound for him in a ſum of fifteen hundred pounds; and, if he was reſtrained, ſo that he could not recover the wine arrearages, which (as we find from Ralegh's letter before to his wife) would clear all his debts, they muſt remain unpaid. The date endorſed upon this letter, probably by ſir Michael himſelf, in November 12, 1604.

In the middle of February following, we find a grant made by the king, to that John Shellbury and another perſon, to this effect: "That ſir Wal-
"ter Ralegh, late of Sherborne, &c. being at-
"tainted of high-treaſon, whereby all his goods
"and chattels, real and perſonal, moveable and
"immoveable; debts, duties, ſums of money,
"bonds, &c. are forfeited. His majeſty therefore,
"in conſideration that the ſaid debts, which ſir

"Walter Ralegh did truly owe before the ſaid at-
"tainder and conviction, may be juſtly and truly
"paid; as alſo, for the help and maintenance of
"dame Elizabeth his wife, his child and family;
"and for other conſiderations, grants to John
"Shellbury and Robert Smith of London, gen-
"tlemen, all the ſaid goods, &c."

Thus we ſee a great diſtinction made already between him and Cobham, and ſhall find more favour extending towards him in a little while. 'Tis ſaid to be much owing to the earneſt and unwearied interceſſions of his lady at court, who, that ſhe might be more ſerviceable to him, ſoon after he was committed to the Tower, petitioned the king that ſhe might be a priſoner with her huſband, or live with him there in his confinement; and her requeſt was granted. Here, manifeſtly after the grant aforeſaid to Ralegh's truſtees, becauſe that mentions but one of his ſons, ſhe was delivered of the other, and he was chriſtened Carew, who was yet born, as authors compute, within the year above-mentioned.

To this ſatisfaction, Ralegh had others afterwards, which greatly alleviated the loſs of his liberty; ſo that his reſtraint, which was intended as a mortification, his prudence in time ſo converted, that it proved only a retirement, or the quiet enjoyment of a domeſtic life; and he felt certain comforts ariſe from the conſtant company of his little family, which, in the pomp of courts, the pride of conqueſts, the glory of diſcoveries, and the ſweetneſs of freedom itſelf, he had never taſted. But this tranquillity appears not to have ſuddenly arrived, being for a while diveſted of all his eſtate; and having ſome contentions at law

with

with thoſe who were conſiderably indebted to him, and could not otherwiſe be brought to account.

When Ralegh had got over theſe troubleſome conteſts, all things appeared, for a while about him, as ſerene, as in ſuch a gloomy ſtate could be hoped for; and he, who lately was upon the very brink of diſſolution, had all his offices, lands, and goods ſeized upon, and was himſelf committed a cloſe priſoner, had not only his life reprieved, and his confinement ſweetened with ſome degrees of liberty, but even his eſtate alſo reſtored to him. For theſe lands were actually made over by ſir Walter Ralegh to his ſon, both inheritance and fee, before queen Elizabeth died, as formerly was.

But this proſpect was ſoon overcaſt; for, there was a young Scotchman, named Robert Car, who, ſoon after the ſaid reſtitution, ſprang up in great favour at court; and, having no fortune of his own, it was contrived by thoſe who had gaped in vain for Ralegh's eſtate themſelves, to lay the foundation of this favourite's future greatneſs upon his ruin; for, being thus fruſtrated of the effects of ſir Walter Ralegh's attainder, they pretended to find a flaw in his laſt conveyance of the fee and inheritance of Sherborne to his ſon; and, to this purpoſe an information was exhibited in the Exchequer by the attorney-general Hobart, to which Ralegh put in his anſwer; and therein the ſaid grant or conveyance was ſet forth to be made over, as above; yet, for want of a ſingle word (which was found notwithſtanding in the paper-book, and was only the overſight of the clerk) they pronounced the conveyance invalid, and Sherborne abſolutely forfeited to the crown; a judgment to be foreſeen without witchcraft, ſince his chief judge was his greateſt enemy, and the

caſe argued between a friendleſs priſoner and the king of England.

Then was Sherborne given to this Car, afterwards earl of Somerſet. The lady Ralegh and her children earneſtly petitioned the king for compaſſion, but could now obtain no other anſwer, than "he mun have the land, he mun have it for "Car." And ſhe, a woman of high ſpirit, on her knees, prayed to God that he would puniſh thoſe who had thus wrongfully expoſed her and her children to ruin.

Not long after, Ralegh grew into high eſteem with that great hope and heir to theſe kingdoms, prince Henry Frederic, the king's eldeſt ſon, who, being ſatisfied of his loyalty, and well informed of his great qualifications and experience in civil and military affairs, with his hazardous ſervices for the honour and defence of his country, no leſs than the many public-ſpirited adventures, both to enlarge and enrich it, teſtified his own merits in diſtinguiſhing thoſe of ſir Walter Ralegh; and, notwithſtanding the many little envious detractions of ſome undermining courtiers about him, encouraged his epiſtolary addreſſes to him from the Tower, and ſent for his counſel or opinion upon ſeveral emergent occaſions. It was, perhaps, one of the brighteſt actions of this prince, that he never left importuning the king with the moſt perſuaſive ſollicitations, that he would beſtow Sherborne upon him, with full deſign to return it to its juſt owner, till his majeſty at laſt granted his requeſt; but by what cruel fate Ralegh's hopes were eclipſed again, and indeed thoſe of the whole kingdom, we ſhall ſuddenly hear.

In the mean time, we muſt here endeavour to give ſuch light of that intercourſe which paſſed between the ſaid prince Henry and ſir Walter Ralegh,

legh, as thoſe letters and diſcourſes, which he addreſſed to his highneſs, and are extant, will afford; and firſt, when he found how commendably the prince was inclined to the ſtudies of navigation; how much delighted he was with a view of the fleet at Chatham: how inquiſitive, or deſirous to inform himſelf, by conſultation with the moſt experienced commanders, in the knowledge of building ſhips moſt artfully, fitting them out moſt commodiouſly, ſailing them moſt dexterouſly, and fighting with them moſt ſucceſsfully, in order to execute thoſe great deſigns he had upon the Weſt-Indies and Spain itſelf, whenever its king ſhould give cauſe of public hoſtility. Ralegh compoſed and communicated to his highneſs ſeveral treatiſes upon theſe ſubjects.

There is nothing in theſe treatiſes which ſhew Ralegh any ways concerned in writing thoſe propoſitions or arguments for foreign wars, which were delivered to prince Henry by ſome of his military ſervants, and which were afterwards abſtractedly publiſhed, together with an anſwer at large, written, very conformable to the taſte of king James, by the learned ſir Robert Cotton; though to the firſt edition of this treatiſe, the bookſeller, having prefixed ſir Walter Ralegh's picture, have miſled ſome writers of his life, careleſly to inſert this book into the catalogue of his writings.

But Ralegh's pen was ſoon engaged upon a different ſubject in the prince's ſervice, and by his command: for, the firſt overtures of a marriage between this prince and the eldeſt daughter of Spain being put off, the like motion was now made by the Savoyan embaſſador, not only for a marriage between prince Henry and a daughter of the duke of Savoy, but for another, of his ſon Don

Phillibert, prince of Piedmont, with princeſs Elizabeth, the daughter of England.

Ralegh wrote two diſcourſes upon this occaſion; and that he particularly was requeſted by the prince to give his opinion of the ſaid offers, appears in his introduction to the firſt of thoſe diſcourſes, inſcribed to ſome miniſter of ſtate about his highneſs; in which Ralegh has ſo notably diſcovered what a tool for "avarice and ambition "moſt of the catholic princes in Europe had made "of this ſacrament of matrimony; and how notoriouſly the Caſtilians, with thoſe of whom theſe "princes are deſcended, have gotten no leſs by "traffick of their marriages, than they have done "by the trade of their Indies." It ſeems ſurpriſing, that theſe excellent political diſcourſes were never made public, for the inſtruction of our ſucceeding princes upon this topic. The ſecond of them, upon the match for prince Henry, is treated under eight heads: and, in the fourth page of it, Ralegh has theſe words: "There is a "kind of noble and royal deceiving in marriages "between great kings and princes; yea, it is, of "of all others, the faireſt and moſt unſuſpected "kind of betraying: it has been as ordinary a-"mong them to adventure or caſt away a daugh-"ter to bring ſome purpoſe to paſs, as at other "times, for ſaving of charges, to make them "nuns."

A little farther, having repreſented the duke of Savoy ſo tied to the ſee of Rome, both by religion and intereſt, that he could no more be ſeparated and ſubſiſt, than if his ſoul was divided from his body, he goes on thus more directly, concerning the marriages. "What then remains of profit "to our prince by this alliance? a ſum of money, "and a beautiful lady. For beauty (ſays he) it

"was

" was never more cheap in any age; and it is ever
" better loved in the hope, than when it is had:
" for the million of crowns offered, which makes
" but two of our ſubſidies, I ſpeak it confidenly;
" that when thoſe dukes, lords, and great ladies,
" who will attend the princeſs in her paſſage hi-
" ther, ſhall be all preſented with gifts according
" to their degrees and the king's honour; when
" the preparations, triumphs, and feaſtings are
" paid for, there will nothing remain but a great
" encreaſe of charge, and perchance, a great deal
" of melancholy.

In his other diſcourſe, on the match that was offered for the accompliſhed lady Elizabeth, that prince's ſiſter, having copiouſly exemplified, as we " have obſerved, what mercenary ſacrifices had " been made, by crowned heads, of their chil- " dren, in this grand market of matrimony; and anſwered the objections he foreſaw ſome courtiers, devoted to Spain, might make, that ſeeing the kings of France, and eſpecially of Spain, had ſo often matched themſelves with the dukes of Savoy, why ſhould not the king of England alſo accept of their alliance?

He proceeds to examine what encreaſe of honour and dignity, or what great comfort or contentment this excellent young princeſs could expect or hope for by this match? " For the firſt, " to wit, honour and dignity (ſays he) as ſhe is " born the eldeſt, and now only daughter of one " of the mightieſt kings of Chriſtendom, ſo is " ſhe thereby of higher place and ſtate, than the " wife of a duke of Savoy. Beſides, in her birth " and blood, both of father and mother, deſcend- " ed of ſuch royal races, as Savoy cannot add any " greater grace or glory to; and by nature and " education endued with ſuch princely perfections,

" both

" both of body and mind, as may well deſerve to
" be reputed a worthy ſpouſe for the greateſt mo-
" narch of Chriſtendom, eſpecially conſidering
" the poſſibilities of a daughter of England, where-
" of we had many precedents; and, at this time,
" is happily manifeſted in the king's majeſty, our
" ſovereign, being deſcended of a daughter of
" England; whereby the whole iſland, formerly
" divided, is again now made one Great-Britain,
" to the mutual ſtrength of either. Now, to con-
" fer the poſſibility of ſuch a fortune upon a poor
" popiſh duke of Savoy, that can return no re-
" compence of benefit to this ſtate, were greatly
" for his glory, though little for the advancement
" of this noble princeſs, and leſs for the ſafety of
" this kingdom, conſidering the dangers that it
" may draw upon our worthy and magnanimous
" prince and the noble duke of York, if the am-
" bition of this match ſhould tickle the Savoyan
" to look after poſſibilities, wherein they would
" want neither means, perſuaſions, nor pardons
" from Rome, to practiſe any villany in that be-
" half, whereby to benefit or ſtrengthen an appen-
" dix of Spain, and ſo devoted a ſon to the Ro-
" miſh ſee.

" For the ſecond, namely, the comfort and
" contentment of this worthy young lady by this
" match, as there is little in appearance preſently,
" ſo there is leſs to be hoped for in the future.
" For, at firſt, ſhe muſt be removed far from her
" neareſt blood, both by father and mother, in a
" country far eſtranged from our nation, as any
" part of Chriſtendom, and as far differing from
" us in religion, as in climate. And, what true
" correſpondence, or matrimonial affection, there
" can be maintained between thoſe perſons, whoſe
" minds are different, and oppoſite in the religious

" points

" points of their Chriſtian faith, is greatly to be
" doubted. Moreover, it is greatly to be feared,
" with what ſafety and ſecurity ſhe can long live
" free from ſecret practices and treacheries, in a
" country ſo near the pope's juriſdiction, environ'd
" with the plots of the jeſuits, who, we ſee, do
" daily traffick the lives and fortunes of all princes
" who are not wholly devoted to the Romiſh obe-
" dience; and therefore, how they will entertain
" or tolerate the race of our king, were too great
" an error and preſumption to truſt to it: ſo, as
" when the worthy lady, hereafter by her chil-
" dren, or otherwiſe, has furniſhed their deſire,
" and fully ſerved their turn, ſhe ſhall be then ei-
" ther forced to wound her conſcience, by forſaking
" her faith, or elſe to undergo the ſcorns and danger
" which ſhall be daily caſt upon her and her family,
" for the exerciſe of her religion. And this alſo we
" may be well aſſured of, that, if ſhe ſhall have
" any iſſue by the prince of Piedmont, they muſt
" all be bred and brought up contrary to her
" conſcience, which can be no ſmall grief to a vir-
" tuous and natural mother, and as little comfort
" to our juſt religious king, their grandfather.

" Laſtly, the very binding cauſe of amity be-
" tween all kings, princes, and ſtates, in their
" trade and intercourſe of their ſubjects. Now,
" there is not any prince or ſtate of Europe, the
" inland countries of Hungary and Tranſilvania
" excepted, but the Engliſh have trade withal;
" yea, even with the Turk, Barbarian, Perſian,
" and Indians; only with the ſubjects of Savoy, I
" do not know that we have any meddling or in-
" terchange at all: for the duke has no port, his
" ditch of Villa-franca excepted, which is only
" capable of a few galleys, either to furniſh ſhips

" from

" from, or to receive them, being ſtrangers. And " therefore for his majeſty of England to match " his eldeſt and only daughter with a prince, who " has his dependance on other kings; a prince " jeſuited, who can neither head us in time of " war, nor trade with us in time of peace; a " prince, by the ſituation of his country, every " way unprofitable to us; and that, no leſs peri- " lous for his majeſty's daughter to live in: I re- " ſolve myſelf, that he is of too excellent a judg- " ment ever to accept of it, and his honourable " council too wiſe and provident to adviſe the pro- " ſecution thereof.

" Now, if his highneſs ſhould be pleaſed to aſk " my opinion, with what Chriſtian prince he ſhould " match his ſiſter, were it in his own power and " choice to make election, I humbly deſire to be " excuſed herein; for, would it be become me to " preſume ſo far? It is true, I have heard it, that " ſome overtures have been made for the prince " palatine of the Rhine; certainly he is as well " born as the duke of Savoy, and as free a prince " as he is. The nation is faithful; he is of our " religion, and by him we ſhall greatly faſten un- " to us the Netherlands: and, for the little judg- " ment which God has given me, I do prize the " alliance of the palatine of the Rhine, and of the " houſe of Naſſau, more than I do the alliance of " ten dukes of Savoy." Thus ends his diſcourſe on the marriage of princeſs Elizabeth.

What followed was, that about a twelvemonth after the writing of thoſe diſcourſes, the princeſs was married to Frederic, elector palatine of the Rhine, afterwards king of Bohemia; a match which might have well anſwered all the advantages expected from it, at leaſt, one that had never been attended with ſuch a ſeries of calamities,

ties, were king James to have been moved, if not through honour and power, as a ſovereign, yet through nature and affection, as a father, to have granted them a ſeaſonable ſupply againſt their enemies.

As for the prince of Wales, he is ſaid to have firſt encouraged the prince elector to attempt his ſiſter; deſiring more to head an army in Germany, then he durſt make ſhew of, and would, no doubt, have been bravely followed: but alas! that fate, which ſo often ſuffers the unworthy to flouriſh, deprived this kingdom of prince Henry, in leſs than a month after the arrival of the ſaid Elector. Some have inſinuated, as if the Spaniards, becauſe his highneſs approved Ralegh's diſcourſe touching a war with Spain, had a hand in his untimely end; alledging, that if Philip the ſecond cut off his own hopeful ſon Charles for but pitying the people of Flanders, it can be no wonder he (or his ſon) ſhould promote the deſtruction of a ſtranger, who did ſo far applaud the advice of Ralegh, as to ſay, "No king, but his father, would keep ſuch "a bird in a cage."

But, from more inteſtine and unnatural ſources, his ſudden death is ſurmiſed by others to have ſprung; the diſeaſe being ſo violent, that the combat of nature againſt it, in the ſtrength of youth (he being almoſt nineteen years of age) laſted but few days. Here it is ſomewhat remarkable, that after ſir Theodore Mayerne, with Dr. Butler, Hamond, and other moſt eminent phyſicians, had uſed the utmoſt of their ſkill in vain, and had the leaſt hopes imaginable left of the prince's recovery, that theſe ſhould be at laſt centered in ſome relief that might be had from ſir Walter Ralegh, and that a cordial from him (a ſtate priſoner) ſhould be ſent for, and, with conſent

ſent or approbation, adminiſtered, when all other means had failed, and were given over, as we may gather from ſir William Cornwallis, and other hiſtorians of thoſe times. As to the effect, tho' it came too late, ſo that it might rather prolong pain than life for a few hours, and muſt have been a kind of miracle to have reſtored one ſo far exhauſted, and on the point of expiring; for he died the ſame evening, being the ſixth of November, 1512; yet, to intelligent readers, it is enough to ſhew firſt, what high reputation ſir Walter Ralegh's medicinal knowledge, through this cordial, had now gained, among the moſt ſkillful of the faculty; and ſecondly, the unſteady and incoherent opinions which were entertained of one and the ſame man's loyalty; that he, who was accuſed at his trial of a plot to extirpate the royal family, ſhould yet be ſo far relied on as to ſave it, as to have the lives firſt of queen Anne, and afterwards of prince Henry, truſted to his ſkill.

Though there were ſtrong ſuſpicions of the princes being poiſoned, the phyſicians that attended him gave it under their hands, that he died of a ſtrong malignant fever, after they had anatomized him to amuſe the world (ſays a certain writer) and clear the ſuſpicion of poiſon, as if no venom could procure the like effects; while the king, to diſpel the clouds of ſorrow, commanded that no man ſhould appear at court in mourning.

Whatever was the cauſe of this excellent prince's death, Ralegh had no common ſhare in the loſs of him; his highneſs having, but a few months before he died, obtained Sherborne, with intention to return it him, as is already obſerved; and, we are further informed, that king James, to ſatisfy his favourite Car, who was now viſcount Rocheſter, gave him, inſtead thereof, twenty-five thouſand

thouſand pounds in money: ſo far was the crown from gaining by this purchaſe. But now, after the prince's death, this Rocheſter got Sherborne of the king again; however, as ſome kind of amends, his majeſty, we are told by Ralegh himſelf, alſo gave his wife and ſon eight thouſand pounds for the ſaid eſtate.

But, as Ralegh has been occaſionally mentioned in the character of an author, it is high time he ſhould be conſidered more particularly in that light; which cannot in any place more properly be done, than in this ſedentary part of his life, when moſt of his works were written. Here then we are arrived at that part of his ſtory wherein he will appear rather a collegian than a captive; a ſtudent in a library, than a priſoner in the Tower.

On this occaſion, we cannot but reflect, how well ſuch productions, in ſuch a ſituation! ſuch ſpacious exerciſes of genius, in ſuch a contracted ſtate, will prove, that, though the ſoul of man, by a fly, or a hair, may be ſeparated from the body, tyranny itſelf cannot confine it to the body; and, at the ſame time, how trifling a calamity confinement muſt be to thoſe who have well employed their liberty! Some men, impatient under ſo many years reſtraint, would have pined obſcurely away by deſpair; and others, with rage, have made their bonds more galling: but Ralegh, as in many other diſaſters, ſo in this, has left us an example of an heroic mind. In him we may obſerve there is no levelling a ſublime ſpirit with the ſubalterns of nature: preſs it on one part, it will ſtill riſe in another; and be like ſome hardy plants we have ſeen, whoſe heads will ſhoot forth and flouriſh in the ſight of mankind, though their roots are cloſely fettered in walls of ſtone.

Happy

Happy then are they, who in their youth have ſo fortified themſelves with knowledge, and attained to ſuch a knowledge of literature, that, whereſoever they are driven by the perſecutions of power, they can make the contemplation of wiſdom beguile the ſenſe of their ſufferings! Who, out of the moſt prevailing examples in all ages, of patience and prudence in all exigences, can ſet themſelves leſſons of fortitude, and taſks of imitations! Who can, out of the misfortunes of others, extract conſolations for themſelves; or partake in their proſperity, and make it tributary to their own contentment! Such carry with them an infallible, an undeprivable ſolace; which can relieve them in poverty with ineſtimable treaſure, and confer on them in priſon an intellectual liberty: for the multitudes of anxieties which ſurprize illiterate and uncultivated minds, even in the midſt of the moſt ſplendid affluence or adulation, are inacceſſible to them, under the darkeſt clouds of indigence or reproach.

That Ralegh, in his early days, attained to ſuch a taſte of letters as all his ſucceeding avocations could never remove, and which proved not only an ornament to thoſe his earlier and happier days, but a relief in his age and afflictions, even ſo as to render him, under his darker fortunes and condition, more illuſtrious than he was in his brighteſt proſperity, may appear by a ſurvey of his writings from the juvenile productions of his pen, to the more numerous and mature offſprings of his preſent confinement.

As for the productions of his muſe, we ſhall barely enumerate them. The moſt remarkable are his poem on Gaſcoign's Steel-glaſs; The Excuſe; The Silent Lover; The Anſwer to Marloe's Paſtoral;

Paſtoral; with his poem of Cynthia, and two more on Spenſer's Fairy Queen. There is a ſatirical Elegy on the death of the treaſurer Cecyl, earl of Saliſbury, written within this period, likewiſe aſcribed to him; and we have ſtill three pieces more of his poetry written afterwards, and but a ſhort time before his death. Theſe are of a ſolemn nature; as his Pilgrim, his Epigram in Alluſion to the Snuff of a Candle. Laſtly, A Divine Stanza, which is called his Epitaph.

But thoſe more continued compoſitions, which were the reſult of experience and obſervation in his ſeveral public profeſſions or engagements of life, will, perhaps, firſt demand our obſervation; ſuch as relate to his character as a warrior, a ſailor, a diſcoverer of unknown countries, and a politician verſed in the intereſt of nations and the arts of government. Among theſe, we may firſt mention his military diſcourſes; and theſe concern either a defence of England in particular, or contain general arguments and examples of the cauſes and reaſons of war among mankind. On the former ſubject, he ſeems to have drawn up ſeveral remonſtrances which are but ſparingly and ſlowly come to light: however, from what has before been obſerved, of his having had a principal hand in the determinations of the grand council of war, for putting the nation in arms when it was under immediate apprehenſions of the Spaniſh invaſion, there is good reaſon to believe he was alſo author of a treatiſe, containing notes of direction for ſuch defence of the kingdom; written three years before, when the ſaid enemies were beginning to ſhew their deſigns. To this treatiſe was alſo joined A Direction for the beſt and moſt orderly Retreat of an Army, whether in Campaign or Straits: and theſe were then preſented in M. S. to the privy-council.

Herein, one advice is, ſince frontier forces are unlikely to prevent an enemy from landing, that, if they ſhould land, through the deficiency or abſence of our ſhipping (for this is the force Ralegh was ever for having firſt uſed againſt ſuch foreign invaſions) it were better, by driving or clearing the country of proviſions, and temporiſing to endeavour at growing ſtronger, and rendering the enemy weaker, than to hazard all by a confuſed and diſorderly deſcent of the populace to oppoſe the firſt landing, as their cuſtom heretofore was. But this, chiefly among the ſaid reaſons and poſitions, for preventing an invading enemy, was a little before the approach of the Spaniſh armada oppugned by Thomas Gibbes, eſq. muſter-maſter-general of her majeſty's forces in the Low-Countries, in A Diſcourſe of the Beſt Order for repulſing a foreign Force, &c. which he then exhibited in print.

This produced an anſwer, which, having been found in an old manuſcript copy among others of ſir Walter Ralegh's diſcourſes, has lately been publiſhed; and which, by ſeveral circumſtances therein, agreeing with many in his life, as well as with ſeveral orders in the aforeſaid council of war, ſeveral paſſages in his Hiſtory of the World, and his other writings, offers many reaſons to believe it was written by him.

But, if we would ſee his opinion upon this ſubject in a more extenſive and univerſal manner, it muſt be in his Diſcourſes of the Original and Fundamental Cauſe of Natural and Neceſſary, Arbitrary and Cuſtomary, Holy and Civil Wars; which, though alſo publiſhed ſeveral years after his death, have ſufficient marks of genuineſs upon them.

There

There are other writings of his beſides, which relate to this topic; but, as war in them is treated of ſubordinately, and rather with reſpect to ſome national advantages, wherewith it might have been maintained againſt our enemies, as the poſture of affairs then was, or the perſonal behaviour of ſome particular men, ſo we may think it more proper to ſpeak of them under ſuch diviſions.

Among theſe, that which admits of his maritime diſcourſes, may not perhaps be leaſt obſervable, being a ſubject ſeldom handled by men of ſuch learning and experience, yet of ſuch importance to a people in our ſituation: and under this head, that which ſhould here be perhaps firſt ſpoken of, though indeed one of the laſt pieces he wrote in this ſtate of durance, is, his Diſcourſe of the Invention of Shipping, &c. wherein he treats of the uſe, defects, and improvements thereof; the ſtrength and deficiency of the ſea-forces of England, France, Spain, and Venice, with five cauſes of the riſe of the Hollanders. His encouragement of a mutual friendſhip between them and England, as alſo of the Newcaſtle trade.

This might lead us more particularly to his excellent Obſervations and Notes concerning the Royal Navy and Sea Service, which he dedicated to the prince of Wales, as is before mentioned; therefore all we need obſerve more of it in this place is, that herein he diſcourſes under diſtinct heads, of the officers of the navy; of ſome errors to be reformed in ſhip-building; and others, in harbouring and manning the fleet; of ſurcharging them with great ordnance; the defects in ſheathing and calking; the abuſes in victualling; inconveniency of the cook-rooms, of muſtering and preſſing mariners; of arms and amunition; and, laſtly, of captains to ſerve in his majeſty's ſhips. With

the ſecond head, or chapter, in this tract, agrees his letter to prince Henry before ſpoken of, concerning the model of a ſhip: and in his Introduction to the ſaid Obſervations, as was alſo ſaid, our author mentions, A Diſcourſe of a Maritimal Voyage, with the Paſſages and Incidents therein, which he had formerly written to that prince. This, if it is now in being, muſt, I think, remain ſtill in manuſcript.

This may lead us to ſuch of his diſcourſes as repreſent this art in execution, particularly thoſe two gallant naval actions wherein ſir Richard Greenvil loſt his life, and himſelf won a moſt ſignal victory, of which his own pen has preſerved the faithful memorials in his Report of the Truth of the Fight about the Iſles of Azores, and his Epiſtolary Account of the Action at Cadiz.

Nor did his care terminate in the beſt advice for the regulation and maintainance of our ſhipping, or in recording ſome of the moſt notable atchievements performed by it, but extended to the choice and reparation of the moſt convenient harbours for their reception; and that not only by his ſpeeches in parliament, as we have already ſeen, but alſo by a memorial he preſented to queen Elizabeth, touching the port of Dover in particular; declaring how honourable and profitable to her majeſty, how neceſſary and commodious for the realm, the rebuilding it would be; with the leaſt expenſive and moſt perfect manner of performing the ſame.

But, if we advance to his more extenſive purſuits and performances relating to that topick, they will lead us into a new geography, into diſcoveries and deſcriptions of unknown countries, with the voyages which himſelf and others under his charge and directions made to that purpoſe: and under this

this head would fall thoſe papers and diſcourſes of his, concerning the diſcovery, plantation and ſettlement of Virginia, which were in the poſſeſſion of ſir Francis Walſingham, as was obſerved before: but whether now recoverable I know not, nor what is become of his Treatiſe of the Weſt-Indies, which ſeems to have been a very comprehenſive work, by the ſhort ſketch himſelf has given of its contents before quoted.

Better luck ſeems to have befallen his writings upon Guiana; for we have at leaſt four of his diſcourſes on that country extant, though they, probably, are not all he writ thereon; as, firſt, his Conſiderations on the Voyage for Guiana, which has never appeared in print: ſecondly, his Diſcovery of the large, rich, and beautiful Empire of Guiana; which he printed himſelf: thirdly, his Journal of the ſecond Voyage to Guiana; which remains ſtill in manuſcript, and perhaps ſhould do ſo, it being unfiniſhed and full of chaſms, ſeeming to contain only notes and obſervations for his own memory, when he ſhould have leiſure at his return into England to digeſt and fill up the particulars in a continued diſcourſe: accordingly it ſeems to have ſupplied him with materials when he wrote his Apology for the ſaid Voyage.

After his writings, becoming the character of an able commander both by ſea and land, if we conſider him as an author, in the civil or political capacity, we ſhall find him there alſo no leſs eminent; we ſhall behold him in this light, no leſs qualified to govern nations, than, in the other, to conquer and defend them. Some of his compoſitions, under this diſtribution, are of a general nature; as that called The Seat of Government, ſhewing it to be upheld by the two great pillars of civil juſtice

and martial policy; and how this is framed out of the huſbandmen, merchants, and gentry of the realm. The reſt of theſe ranks or degrees he calls the fruit trees of the kingdom; or, thoſe who gather the honey, yet hardly enjoy the wax; and as theſe feed, the ſecond ſort enrich it; nouriſhing ſuch trades as have aſſiſted our kings with great ſums of money, and great fleets, upon occaſion; while the third ſort, our gentry, he calls the garriſons of good order throughout the realm; or means rather they have been, or ſhould be ſuch, more than they were in theſe latter times, to agree with a note he has elſewhere dropt upon them. But this little eſſay appears, by one expreſſion towards the concluſion, mentioning ſomething to be hereafter proved which is not, to be no more than a fragment. The like we apprehend of his Obſervations concerning the Cauſes of the Magnificency and Opulency of Cities, from a word in the very firſt paragraph, referring to ſuch people as ſeem to have been before mentioned. Though, in the main, this is a general diſcourſe, it bears ſome particular references to a rude and barbarous people; and might poſſibly be the reſult of ſuch conſiderations as muſt have engaged his mind, when thoſe propoſitions were on foot for founding the city of Ralegh in Virginia, as was before intimated. In this little eſſay, after having ſpoken of the means to civilize and reform ſuch a people, he proceeds, under diſtinct heads, to treat of the beſt ſituations of cities for ſafety and plenty; of the multitude of inhabitants, religion, academies, courts of juſtice, artificers, privileges and triumphs; ſo concludes with thoſe three cauſes of confirming a city in her greatneſs, juſtice, peace and plenty.

Of a more extenſive nature ſtill, is that treatiſe we have of his, called Maxims of State; being a me-

methodical compendium of government in all or moſt of its forms and branches; with many of its chapters analytically digeſted for the ſake of brevity and perſpicuity. Herein having explained and defined the words government, policy, ſtate, and the other office of ſovereignty, he proceeds to diſtinguiſh the ſeveral ſorts of monarchy, ariſtocracy, free ſtate, tyranny, oligarchy, and commonwealth. Then of the founding a ſtate, with its parts, and of preſerving it under thoſe ſeveral forms, by myſteries or ſophiſms, rules or actions. Laſtly, the converſion of ſtates, general and particular, by foreign invaſion, domeſtic ſedition, or alteration without violence.

Thus ends this treatiſe; to which is joined, as a kind of corollary for the better uſe of the book, two or three paſſages in the ſtory of David; from whence an inference is drawn, That old age is not always unfit for government; and alſo a defence of that prince for marrying Abiſhag: ſo cloſes with a portrait of political nobility, in the ſtory of Adonijah aſpiring to the kingdom; with obſervations of the marks to diſcern ſuch practices; and another of the political prince, in a farther example of the ſaid king David; who, though aged, deſerted, and rebelled againſt by many of his nobles, ſtirred up himſelf to public action, and thereby ſhewed his vigour and ſufficiency to manage the affairs of his kingdom.

Herewith may be mentioned that larger treatiſe bordering upon theſe ſubjects, which is called The Arts of Empire, &c. but handled in a different manner. It is divided into twenty-ſix chapters, defining public weals, and differences of ſovereignty; more particularly the three kinds of monarchy, and how to perpetuate them. Alſo of councils and counſellors, officers, commiſſioners,

magiſtrates and miniſters of ſtate. Of juſtice, treaſure and war. Of neighbouring princes. The character of an excellent prince. Art of ruling. Of princely authority, power, and force. Of conſpiracy and treaſon, public hatred, diffidence and diſſimulation. Of war, defenſive and invaſive, law of arms, ſoldiers and their diſcipline. Of generals and commanders, councils of war, directions tactic and ſtratagemic; with advice how to make an honourable peace. Of civil-war, with the cauſes and remedies of it. And the two laſt chapters contain a collection of political obſervations, and maxims of ſtate; or prudential grounds and polemical precepts concerning all ſtates and forms of policy, &c. confirmed by ſelect narrations and hiſtorical precepts.

But if we deſcend to thoſe political writings of our author, which were occaſionally compoſed; and with more particular regard to the exigents of ſtate in his own time, through the virtues of a penetrating eye into the drifts of every neighbouring nation, and a conſtant attachment to the ſecurity and intereſt of his own; we ſhall find them ſtill more numerous: and theſe, as they moſt of them have a ſpecial regard to Spain, might proceed from the perfect knowledge he had of that kingdom, and its tyrannical practices. One inſtance hereof we have in that diſcourſe of The Spaniard's Cruelties to the Engliſh in Havanna; which is aſcribed to ſir Walter Ralegh, with other tracts, in a volume among the manuſcripts of a late perſon of honour.

His many other obſervations of this kind might well produce his Conſultation about the Peace with Spain, and our protecting the Netherlands; as alſo that other treatiſe, How War may be made with Spain and the Indies. Directions for ſuch an

enterprize may be eaſily preſumed to have been effectually enough given by the ſame hands that compoſed, The preſent State of Spain, with a moſt accurate Account of his Catholic Majeſty's Power and Riches: alſo the Names and Worth of the moſt conſiderable Perſons in that Kingdom.

It was this intimate knowledge he had of the ſtate of all European princes, which ſo well qualified him to give the approved advice he did in thoſe two diſcourſes he wrote upon The Match propounded by the Savoyan, between the lady Elizabeth and the prince of Piedmont: and that between prince Henry of England and a daughter of Savoy; of which we have ſeveral manuſcript copies, and, as ſome aſſert, the original alſo extant.

The ſame knowledge likewiſe enabled him ſo dexterouſly to oppoſe the corrupt doctrines and pernicious deſigns of the papiſts, in his Dialogue between a Jeſuit and a Recuſant; ſhewing how dangerous their Principles are to Chriſtian Princes. Another excellent tract we have of his in this way of writing is, his Dialogue between a Counſellor of State and a Juſtice of Peace; better known in the printed copies by the title of his Prerogative of Parliaments; dedicated, with a true and generous ſpirit of wiſdom and loyalty, to king James.

Theſe two dialogues will give a perfect taſte of our author's manner in theſe his leſſer compoſitions, and are anſwerable to the character before delivered of his Conſultation about the Peace, above-mentioned.

The laſt tract we have to ſpeak of under this partition, except perhaps a ſhort unprinted Diſcourſe of the Words Law and Right, alſo aſcribed to him, and to be found in the Aſhmolean library, is intitled

titled, Obſervations touching Trade and Commerce with the Hollanders, and other Nations, as it was preſented to king James; wherein it is proved, that our Sea and Land Commodities ſerve to enrich and ſtrengthen other Countries againſt our own. But there are reaſons to doubt whether ſir Walter Ralegh was the author of this treatiſe.

Theſe we ſhall divide but into two parts, and then, perhaps, one of them may be beſt comprehended under the topic of philoſophy. To this head belongs, by its ſubject, that ſhort treatiſe of the ſoul, aſcribed to ſir Walter Ralegh; of which there is a copy preſerved among the Aſhmolean manuſcripts. We have in print another treatiſ which may be ranked in the ſame claſs, being built on the doctrine of Pyrrho the Greek philoſopher, entitled, Sir Walter Ralegh's Sceptick or Speculations. This doctrine, ſhewing how much may be ſaid for and againſt the ſame things, ſuch an ingenious exemplification of it as this little tract contains, may, if diſcreetly uſed, prevent many raſh, dogmatical determinations, and inure us to a wary or prudent ſuſpenſe of judgment: for the ſceptic, as our author deſcribes him, does neither affirm or deny any poſition, but doubts it, and oppoſes reaſons againſt that which is affirmed or denied, to juſtify his not conſenting; becauſe he may report how things appear, but whether they are ſo he knows not.

This little tract, as it is here handled, relates chiefly to our ſenſes; but another we have, upon a more dignified topic, as concerning our manners, or virtues and vices; therefore what might be more particularly ſubdivided under the diſtinction of Moral Philoſophy; and it is called, Inſtructions to his Son and Poſterity. A treatiſe well becoming an author, who had ſeen the world

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in ſo many climates, and life in ſo many changes. It is written in a perſpicuous ſtyle, with forcible arguments, and on the moſt practical ſubjects.

All the other works aſcribed to ſir Walter Ralegh, which bear any affinity with this claſs, are two manuſcripts, which might be diſtinguiſhed under the branch of Natural Philoſophy.

The firſt is his Treatiſe of Mines, and the Trial of Minerals; a ſubject on which he very probably might write, both from his own obſervations in the Weſt-Indies, and thoſe engagements he might alſo have in his native country of Devon, with his brother ſir Adrian Gilbert, who firſt, in queen Elizabeth's reign, begun to work the long neglected mines in Comb-Martin (whence king Edward III. had ſupplied his wars againſt France) and was followed by ſir Beavis Bulmer, who from thoſe mines recovered a great quantity of ſilver, out of which he cauſed two maſſy goblets to be made; one whereof was preſented to the earl of Bath; and the other, weighing one hundred and thirty-ſeven ounces, to the lord-mayor of London, in the thirty-fifth year of the queen's reign. So that what Cicero ſays to his friend of this iſland, that it yielded not a drachm of that metal, was falſe in Ralegh's time, and what he could not be ſure was true in his own.

The ſecond manuſcript is Sir Walter Ralegh's Collection of Chymical and Medicinal Receipts for fixing mercury, preparing antimony, and for the cure of ſeveral Diſeaſes. His application to ſtudies of this kind, may perhaps be ſomewhat accountable from the patronage which it appears he had ſhewn to John Heſter, the famous chymiſt, with the converſation there might probably paſs between them, and the knowledge he had learned from the Guianians of curing all manner of poiſon, &c.

It

It is apparent that he beſtowed ſome portion of his time upon the uſe of Lembicks and crucibles while he was in the Tower, and ſeems to have had a kind of laboratory there for his ſaid operations.

How elaborately ſoever many of theſe pieces are allowed by others to have been written, our author looked upon them but as little excurſions, or ſallies, as he calls them, from his grand labour, I mean that ocean of hiſtory, wherein he has outdone all that went before him, and given ſuch lights to futurity as muſt ever be grateful. "A voyage "which, if begun even in the dawn of his day, "when the light of knowledge firſt broke out upon "his younger years, and before any wound re-"ceived, either from Fortune or Time, he might "yet well have doubted (as he obſerves himſelf) "that the darkneſs of age and death would have "overtaken him long before the performance." But being undertaken as it was, in the evening of a tempeſtuous life, a life ſo far run out in travels and purſuits of ſuch oppoſite nature; for one under the ſoul-piercing privations of honour, fortune, freedom! One buried alive! to attempt ſuch a univerſal revival of the dead! And, while his body laboured under all thoſe preſſures, for his brain to be deliverd of that Minerva, as a certain author calls it, his Hiſtory of the World! is an example that might puzzle ſuch an hiſtorian even as Ralegh himſelf to parallel. For, beginning at the creation, he has given us the ſubſtance of Hiſtory down to the end of the ſecond Macedonian war.

Thus having reviewed the three firſt monarchies of the world, he leaves Rome in the fourth, triumphant, about a century and a half before the birth of Chriſt, comprehending a period of near four thouſand years.

This

This work was divided by our author into five books, who annexed to it a very copious and uſeful chronological table: and it was, with the further decorations of maps, tables of genealogy, &c. publiſhed in the month of April, juſt before the meeting of the parliament, in a large volume, folio, 1614. The approbation it has met with ſince the author's death, has been ſo univerſal, that if they are different editions of the book to which we may ſee different dates printed, we may venture to ſay, no work of any author in England has been ſo often reprinted that is of equal ſize and antiquity. The ſeveral characters and commendations which have been beſtowed on this hiſtory, as well by miſcellaneous writers, who have frequently quoted it with great deference and reſpect, as by hiſtorians and critics, who have cloſely traced and thoroughly examined it; and as well in verſe as proſe, would be too numerous to be here inſerted, could they be recovered.

He took no ordinary care to deſerve theſe encomiums; for, beſides his own learning, knowledge, and judgment, which many would have thought ſufficient for any undertaking, he, with that caution wherewith we have beheld ſo many others of his great enterprizes tempered, would ſuffer no part of this hiſtory to paſs his own hand, before ſome of the moſt able ſcholars, whom he aſſembled, it ſeems, for this purpoſe, had debated the parts he was moſt doubtful of, and they moſt converſant in, before him. Thus in the Moſaic and Oriental antiquities, or fainter and more remote footſteps of time, he would ſometimes conſult the learned Dr. Robert Burhill. In all parts of chronology, geography, and other branches of mathematical ſcience, he wanted not the opinions of the learned Hariot, and the earl of Northumberland's three magi,

magi, long his neighbours in the Tower; and, wherever he ſcrupled any thing in the phraſe or diction, he would hear the accurate and ingenious ſir John Hoſkyns, ſome time alſo reſident in theſe confines; who viewed and reviewed the ſaid hiſtory, as we are told, before it went to the preſs; and whom Ben Johnſon, proud of calling others his ſons, could gratify that humour in calling father.

Thus having ſpared no labour, and neglected no means to bring this work to the perfection wherein we behold it, it is no wonder that ſome ſcribler or other ſhould, upon finding it ſo univerſally read, endeavour to raiſe himſelf a little profit or credit from it, by pretending that the world needed an abridgment of its hiſtory, as if that wherewith ſir Walter Ralegh has preſented us, either is, or was intended for any thing more. But this more ſpecious kind of detraction meeting with no countenance, the author of it threw out another, of animadverſions upon this hiſtory; but as inſignificant, and no leſs diſregarded than the other, being agreeable to that unhappy ſpirit of contradiction which ever harraſſed him to oppoſe the greateſt writers in his time.

But what is more conſiderable concerning this hiſtory, is, whether our author ever continued it down to his own times; and whether, on ſome pretence, that this firſt part did not meet with encouragement, he ever deſtroyed the ſaid continuation himſelf, as we have it in the mouths of every body when they ſpeak of him, but in the belief of nobody who knows any thing of his ſtory or his character. All that he ſays himſelf, in the leaſt, glancing this way, is firſt in his Preface, That he propoſed to confine his diſcourſe with this our renowned iſle of Great-Britain; and, that he forbears to promiſe a ſecond or third volume, which

he

he intends, if he firſt receives grace and good acceptance, for that which is already done may be thought enough and too much. Laſtly, in the concluſion of the hiſtory he ſays, "Whereas this "book by the title calls itſelf The Firſt Part of "the General Hiſtory of the World, implying a "ſecond and third volume, which I alſo intended "and have hewn out; beſides many diſcouragements perſuading my ſilence, it has pleaſed God "to take that glorious prince out of the world to "whom they were directed; whoſe unſpeakable "and never-enough lamented loſs, has taught me "to ſay with Job, Verſa eſt in luctum cithera "mea, & organum meum in vocem flentium."

From hence it ſeems plain enough, that our author had only ſome plan, [or perhaps a few rough draughts of ſome ſucceeding parts of the hiſtory at this time drawn up, and that he was diſcouraged from making any further progreſs in them. Allowing his mind might change, and there was time enough to finiſh the remaining volumes between this year and that of his death, which is ſcarcely allowable: yet, as we know how moſt of that time was employed by him, it will admit of no room for any ſuch performance: for, in 1615, the year which followed that wherein he publiſhed his hiſtory, two at leaſt of his moſt elaborate tracts beforementioned were written. The ſame year he was alſo buſy in writing letters, and making other intereſt for his releaſement, which he obtained before it was quite expired.

After this, it will no leſs appear that he made himſelf too eminently the ſubject of modern hiſtory, to be any further an author of ancient. There is, indeed, a little intimation of the deſign he had upon ſome ancient part of our Engliſh hiſtory, preſerved in a letter of his own, written, it ſeems, though

though undated, before his great work was published, to that acquaintance, whose library was amoſtlikely to accommodate him with thoſe uncommon books which he wanted for his purpoſe. This letter is as follows:

"SIR ROBERT COTTON,

"IF you have any of theſe old books, or any "manuſcripts wherein I may find any of our Britiſh "antiquities; if you pleaſe to lend them me for a "little while, I will ſafely reſtore them, and think "myſelf much beholden unto you: or if you have "any old French hiſtory, wherein our nation is "mentioned; or any elſe, in what language ſo-"ever." So ſubſcribes himſelf,

"Your poor Friend,

"W. RALEGH."

But this does not ſufficiently aſſure us, whether the uſe of theſe books was to continue his General Hiſtory, or furniſh him upon ſome more particular ſubject; however, we may incline with the writer of ſir Robert Cotton's life to the former opinion: and as for the reaſons of one ingenious author, why ſir Walter Ralegh was the moſt proper perſon to write the Hiſtory of his own Time; and the opinion of another, That his admirable performance, already publiſhed, ſufficiently ſhews, that if he attempted The Hiſtory of his own Country, or his own Times, he would have excelled even Livy or Thucidydes; and that The Annals of Queen Elizabeth, by his pen, without diminiſhing from rhe ſerious and judicious Camden, had been the brighteſt glory of her reign; and would have tranſmitted his hiſtory as the ſtandard of our language even to the preſent age.

Theſe

Theſe are ſtill no affirmatives that he finiſhed ſuch a ſecond part: ſo that his own intimations in the firſt part, reſerved and inconcluſive as they are, ſeem to have been the only foundation of that trite ſtory, That ſir Walter Ralegh, a few days before his death, ſent for Walter Burre, the bookſeller who had printed his firſt volume, and taking him by the hand, aſked him, How that work of his had ſold? who anſwered, So ſlowly that it had undone him. Hereupon Ralegh, ſtepping to his deſk, reached out the other part of his hiſtory, which he had brought down to the times he lived in; then ſaying with a ſigh, "Ah! friend, has "the firſt part undone thee? the ſecond volume "ſhall undo no more; this ungrateful world is "unworthy of it;" ſo ſtept to the fire, threw it in, and ſet his foot on it till it was conſumed.

But, as we obſerved before; Ralegh had no leiſure to finiſh ſuch a ſecond part of his hiſtory down to the preſent time. In the next place, it is no ways probable that he, who, in regard to the firſt part, could follow the rule of Seneca; that he, who having ſatisfied his own conſcience, could diſregard the cenſure of others, ſhould ſacrifice ſo great a part of his labours, or any part, in ſuch a raſh and inconſiderate manner, to the ſudden repreſentations of a bookſeller, within three years after the firſt; and, laſtly, the firſt man we can meet with who reports the ſame, is a trifling and ſuperficial writer, who produces no authority for his aſſertion.

As to the unfiniſhed parts he might have of ſuch a continuation, to admit that they were thus deſtroyed would, by no means, agree with an account we have more ſatisfactorily atteſted of that great quantity there was in being of ſir Walter Ralegh's unprinted writings ſeveral years after his death:

for we are aſſured, That the famous Mr. Hamden, a little before the civil wars, was at the charge of tranſcribing three thouſand, four hundred and fifty-two ſheets of ſir Walter Ralegh's manuſcripts. Yet what is become of this treaſure now, is not eaſy to determine: for, if we ſuppoſe that Mr. Hamden would not be at the trouble and charge of tranſcribing any of our author's writings which had then been printed; and grant that all of his, which have been printed ſince that time, as well as all we can hear of remaining in MS. which are allowed to be his, were part of that collection or quantity, they will not, both joined together, as might be computed from what is here obſerved of them, amount to a fourth part thereof, though we ſhould admit two or three pieces more, alſo aſcribed to him, which have not yet been named, and happen to fall under his hiſtorical diviſion.

The firſt of them is called, A notable and memorable Story of the cruel War between the Carthaginians and their own Mercenaries; gathered out of Polibius and other authors, by that famous hiſtorian ſir Walter Ralegh. The other two pieces might ſeem to fall within the intended continuation of his Univerſal Hiſtory; but the firſt of them, called, The Life and Death of Mahomet; The Conqueſt of Spain; together with the Riſing and Ruin of the Saracen Empire, aſcribed to ſir Walter Ralegh near twenty years after his death, by the bookſeller who dedicated it to his ſon, is, except a few leaves concerning Mahamet, no more than a tranſlation of an epitome made by ſome ignorant Spaniſh author, chiefly from what one of his own fabulous countrymen had written of a fictitious prince named Jacob Almanſor.

The other piece is ſtiled, An Introduction to a Breviary of the Hiſtory of England; with the

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Reign of King William I. entitled the Conqueror, written by ſir Walter Ralegh. It was near fourſcore years after his death before this was publiſhed. Yet there are ſeveral old manuſcript copies of it in the libraries of the curious, which entitle him the author of it; but it was written at leaſt two years before he publiſhed his Hiſtory of the World, becauſe it was inſcribed to a perſon who died ſo long before the ſaid publication, in theſe words: "I intend, by the help of God, and your further-"ance, right noble earl of Saliſbury, to write a "brief hiſtory of England, from William the Friſt, "entitled the Conqueror, to the end of queen "Elizabeth, of perpetual memory." But, by the time his Hiſtory of the World was finiſhed, he was, as we have obſerved, alſo from his own words, diſcouraged from all continuation.

To theſe diſcouragements might be added, the ungrateful treatment which was ſhewn to the part he publiſhed at its firſt appearance: for, though we have obſerved what univerſal approbation it has met with ſince the author's death, yet how it was received as ſoon as it came abroad, and made its firſt viſits at court, we are yet to relate.

Thoſe who thought the king muſt needs be a patron of authors, becauſe he was one of the number, have been ready to inſinuate, that his favour encreaſed towards Ralegh in proportion to the proofs his pen had given of his abilities; therefore, that his many excellent writings, and eſpecially this Hiſtory of the World, were the moſt powerful interceſſors for his releaſement out of the Tower; as if his majeſty, in reſpect to his own honour, thought it in vain longer to confine his perſon, ſince no condition could confine his fame; or, in regard to Ralegh's merit, that he had well deſerved, no place ſhould be a barrier to his liberty, who had given

ſuch extraordinary teſtimony that no age could ſet a bound to his knowledge.

Sanderſon has deſcribed the freedom which not long after enſued, to one of thoſe motives; where he ſays, "Sir Walter Ralegh, wearied with long "impriſonment, and having there ſpent his time "well in The Hiſtory of the World, made his pe- "tition more paſſable to the king, whoſe love to "learning granted him now at laſt his liberty, "and, not long after, leave to wander after a "deſign to the weſtern world, where he had been "in ſeveral climates before." But others, who ſeem to have known the matter much better, or have more ingenuouſly imparted it, aſſure us, that Ralegh's excellent talents were ſo far from ingratiating him with the king, that, though his majeſty had been intemperately praiſed by flatterers for ſome of the weakeſt of his own compoſitions, yet he could not forbear, out of an impertinent emulation, to affect ſir Walter Ralegh the leſs, becauſe of the great repute which he had acquired by his excellent pen. Nay, we are elſewhere told, in anſwer to Sanderſon above, That Ralegh's Hiſtory of the World gave the king ſo much diſpleaſure, that at its firſt publication it was forbid, and partieularly for ſome paſſages in it which offended the Spaniard, ; as alſo for being too plain with the faults of princes in his Preface: for it is indeed replete with many remarkable examples of divine vengeance poured forth on princes of many other nations as well as our own, who ſtrove to eſtabliſh their thrones by oppreſſion and iniquity.

That paſſage in anſwer to Sanderſon, is ſo far from being denied by this writer, that he afterwards confirmed it in contradiction to what himſelf had written as above, about Ralegh's petition being made

made more paſſable by his hiſtory; where, after his groſs manner of interpretation, he ſays, "King "James and all other princes had cauſe of com- "plaint, becauſe his whole book ſets out the "Eaſtern monarchs with much glory, and ex- "claims againſt Chriſtian princes as moſt inhu- "man; tracing all the Engliſh ſovereigns from "the conqueſt, eſpecially Henry VIII; whom, "for his daughter's honour, ſir Walter Ralegh "might have ſpared from gall and bitterneſs. And a little further, "King James might perhaps "obſerve more, to repreſs the wickedneſs of ſuch "a perſon, who, under pretence of taxing a vice "in the father, intended cunningly to ſtain the "whole race, &c."

This objection againſt Ralegh's character of the king, is more particularly aſcribed to king James by another writer, who tells us, "That after "much ſcorn caſt upon Ralegh's hiſtory, the king, "being modeſtly demanded, What fault he found? "anſwered, as one ſurprized, That Ralegh had "ſpoken irreverently of Henry VIII." as if he would have reflected a breach of gratitude upon our hiſtorian towards his benefactreſs the late queen, in ſpeaking ſuch truth when he was to give a character of her father, as not only others who read it muſt concur in, but which that king himſelf, where he alive, muſt alſo have allowed; ſince it is only a paraphraſe upon his own dying confeſſion, that he had been a "prince, who never "ſpared man in his anger, nor woman in his "luſt."

But, if king James could thus object againſt Ralegh for one character, and pay him no thanks for another which follows in the ſame paragraph of that preface, and in ſome parts of the hiſtory

itſelf, this may perhaps beſt ſhew where lay the breach of gratitude. But, however his majeſty might think it a kind of blaſphemy, that any below the dignity of princes ſhould be the cenſors of them; yet the objection above-mentioned ſeems not to be the natural cauſe of his diſlike to this hiſtory, ſince none ever exclaimed againſt that prince more than uſually king James himſelf did.

And others, more particularly ſtill, are inclined to believe, that any liberty Ralegh may have taken with the characters of other princes, was not ſo much the real cauſe of ſuch diſguſt in king James, as, through the inſinuations of ſome miſchievous ſycophants about him, who knew well what humour might be moſt agreeably fed, that ſeveral parts of the hiſtory contained an oblique and artful expoſure of himſelf and his miniſtry; as if, the general hiſtory of the world was chiefly a ſecret hiſtory, or ſatire upon his court; and Scotch faces were to be ſeen in it, ſtuck upon old Jewiſh, Babylonian, or Aſſyrian ſhoulders. But the truth is, that conſcious minds can find in every example ſomething to chaſtiſe themſelves; and, to ſtomachs vitiated, through foul and unwholſome adminiſtrations, with evil habits, the moſt innocent diet is pernicious. That Ralegh foreſaw his enemies would put ſuch perverſe conſtruction on his hiſtory, is evident enough in his own words; where, mentioning the choice he had made, as leaſt exceptionable, of ancient times to deſcribe, he yet anticipates this objection, "againſt the "choice alſo: why may it not be ſaid, that in "ſpeaking of the paſt, I point at the preſent; and "tax the vices of thoſe who are yet living, in their "perſons who are long ſince dead, and have it "laid to my charge? but this I cannot help, tho' "innocent; and certainly, if there be any, who,

"finding

"finding themſelves ſpotted like the tygers of old "time, ſhall find fault with me for painting them "over anew, they ſhall therein accuſe themſelves "juſtly, and me falſely." Yet ſuch fault there was, we ſee, found; and ſo falſely was he accuſed. Thus the honour which ſhould reward a public benefit, is ſtifled by private prejudice.

We are therefore to ſeek ſome other mediator for Ralegh's deliverance out of priſon than his merit by this public benefit; and that we ſhall at laſt find to be his money, though other cauſes in our common hiſtories are alſo ſuggeſted, eſpecially that which ſeemed moſt effectual, the offer he made of fitting out an expedition to ſecure, and poſſeſs for the crown, a gold mine in Guiana, which he had himſelf diſcovered when he was formerly in that country; and which, ſince that time, had been by others ſo amply teſtified, that further confirmation was not now required. So that Ralegh's being deceived by Keymis with ore of a golden complexion, which he brought from thence, or by any chymical tricks, ſuch as ſecretly ſlipping real gold with the ore in the melting-pot, are rediculous falſhoods. Now, that offer Ralegh had made at leaſt three years before he obtained his liberty, with no unreaſonable expectation of its being accepted, ſince king James had ſo publickly aſſerted and confirmed the right of England to that country, through ſir Walter Ralegh's conqueſt and diſcoveries therein, with the ſubmiſſion he had gained from the chief lords thereof, as to have given commiſſions and patents for the poſſeſſion of the ſame, that is to ſay, all from the river of Amazons to the Deſſequebe; and all the iſlands for twenty miles about, in his majeſty's name: which were accordingly executed in all due form by captain Charles Leigh and captain

Robert Harcourt, which laſt left a colony there of thirty perſons for three years, as may be read at large in the narratives of their ſeveral expeditions.

Beſides the public invitations and encouragement which afterwards enſued, to all who would again ſettle and plant in that new diſcovered part of America, gave the diſcover himſelf, no doubt, the greater hopes that his own propoſitions, being not for his private, but the public benefit (yet at his own expence, and that of ſuch friends as he ſhould engage in the adventure) could not but be embraced. Add to this, the advantages of his further knowing the riches of this country, even while he was in priſon, not only by the long converſation he had with thoſe Indians, whom we find here with him in the former part of his confinement, but others, who from time to time, came over to him. For, during this long impriſonment, he held conſtant intercourſe with Guiana, and was at the charge every year, or every ſecond year, of ſending a ſhip or more thither, to keep them in hopes of being relieved from the Spaniards, who had again encroached upon them, and cruelly maſſacred both ſeveral of the natives, and of his own men. So that the number of voyages he ſet forth for Guiana, was at leaſt as many, if not more, than thoſe he is before obſerved to have made to Virginia.

But all this experience, which ſhould have recommended his offer, ſerved at firſt only to render it unacceptable. For the treaſurer Cecyl being then alive, he, with two or three others who bore the ſway at court, were reſolved to diſcountenance it; not that they ſo much doubted the probability that ſuch treaſure might remain unpoſſeſſed, or the

the knowledge and reſolution of Ralegh to compaſs it, ſo much as his diſpoſition towards themſelves, if by a ſucceſsful return he ſhould purchaſe the king's favour. Therefore, to prevent ſuch a rival as he might prove to them, the advantage he propoſed to the ſtate was neglected; nay, ſo deeply had they rooted prejudices in the king's breaſt towards him in this particular, as well as in others before-mentioned, that when his majeſty was ſollicited by any perſon in Ralegh's behalf (and royal ſollicitors he had) he, with that implicit reliance on other men's reports, which thoſe in ſupreme ſtation ſo often bury their own judgments and their juſtice in, would anſwer, "That his "council knew him better than he did."

But, after Cecyl's death, and now that ſir Ralph Winwood was ſecretary of ſtate, Ralegh revived his propoſal to him; and, in a letter, told him, with relation to thoſe two or three ſycophants, who were ever buſy about the king, and at the mercy of whoſe repreſentations he had ſo long lain, that it was his only infelicity the king did not know him as well as thoſe courtiers pretended to do: "For had his majeſty known me, ſays "he, I had never been here where I now am; or "had I known his majeſty, they had never been "ſo long there where they now are. His majeſ-"ty not knowing me has been my ruin, and his "miſknowing them has been the ruin of a goodly "part of his eſtate. But they are all of them now, "ſome living and ſome dying, come to his ma-"jeſty's knowledge."

We learn further out of the ſaid letter, that both queen Anne, who had informed herſelf from the beginning of all that Ralegh had been accuſed of, and her brother the king of Denmark, at both times of his being in England, were thoroughly

roughly ſatisfied of his innocence, otherwiſe they would never have moved his majeſty in his behalf. And prince Henry, who had been curious in ſearching into the nature of his offences, had been frequently a mediator for him, as we have read before. Hereupon, ſays Ralegh, "the wife, the "brother, and the ſon of a king, do not uſe to "ſue for men ſuſpect; but, ſince they have all "done it, and with reference to me alone, you, "ſtrengthened by their example, may with the "more hardineſs do the like."

Towards the end, Ralegh having acknowledged, that all he had remaining was owing to the king, and that he was ready to ſacrifice it all in his majeſty's ſervice, concludes with this noble diſtinction; "To die for the king, and not by "the king, is all the ambition I have in the "world."

This, and other like addreſſes to that new ſecretary, did not advance Ralegh's requeſt ſo much, but he found it neceſſary to uſe ſtronger intereſt than what he was here making, and more ſubſtantial arguments than could flow from a pen. For whatever "pity of his ſufferings, his merit, "and fame of learning now begat in many, or by "whatever means of the French embaſſador, with "others of our own lords," it is pretended in our common accounts of him, that "he got freedom "of repairing for his health to his houſe at St. "James's, a year or two before he procured his "commiſſion for his voyage to Guiana," we are more poſitively and particularly told, "That ſir "William St. John and ſir Edward Villiers, half-"brothers to the lady Villiers, afterwards ducheſs "of Buckingham, procured ſir Walter Ralegh's li-"berty, and had fifteen hundred pounds for their "labour."

It

It further appears, that theſe uſed their power with ſir George Villiers, the new riſing favourite at court, and ſo obtained the king's conſent for Ralegh's enlargement: for there is a letter of Ralegh's acknowledgments to that favourite in theſe words: "Sir, you have, by your mediation, put "me again into the world; I can but acknow-"ledge it; for to pay any part of your favour by "any ſervice of mine as yet, it is not in my pow-"er. If it ſucceed well, a good part of the ho-"nour ſhall be yours; and, if I do not alſo make "it profitable unto you, I ſhall ſhew myſelf ex-"ceeding ungrateful. In the mean while, and "till God diſcover the ſucceſs, I beſeech you to "reckon me among the number of your faithful "ſervants, though the leaſt able. W. Ralegh."

This letter is dated only March 17, but probably written in this year laſt mentioned, 1615; becauſe, three days afterwards, as Camden has preciſely remembered, ſir Walter Ralegh was releaſed out of the Tower. So that he thus purchaſed his liberty in the thirteenth year of his confinement; that is to ſay, after he had been (without intermiſſion) twelve years, three months and five days in the tower of London, beſides near three months more at his firſt commitment thither, and during his arraignment at Wincheſter.

Ralegh being thus at liberty, ſoon appears buſy in making preparation for his voyage. To this purpoſe he called in the eight thouſand pounds, which he had lent to the counteſs of Bedford, reckoned in king James's declaration, a competent ſatisfaction for Sherborne; though it was afterwards valued by the ſtate at five thouſand pounds per annum. But ſeeing that not ſufficient to fit out a fleet in the manner he found neceſſary, his wife conſented alſo to ſell her houſe and lands at Mitcham

Mitcham in Surry, for which he received two thouſand five hundred pounds; all which and more he expended in this expedition. And what frenzy could poſſeſs him, as he ſays himſelf, thus to diſpoſe of his whole ſubſtance, and undertake ſuch a toilſome and dangerous voyage, now that his conſtitution was impaired by ſuch a long confinement, beſides age itſelf, ſickneſs and affliction, were he aſſured thereby of doing his prince ſervice, bettering his country by commerce, and reſtoring his family to their eſtates, all from the mines of Guiana; and, ſays he, "If I myſelf had not ſeen "them with my own eyes."

Beſides the ten thouſand five hundred pounds which it coſt ſir Walter Ralegh to put himſelf in equipage for this long-propoſed voyage, a much greater ſum than would have paid for his liberty of receding from it, or for a formal pardon, had he thought he needed, and had gone about to purchaſe it; there were many co-adventurers, who, by contributions to the expence of it, intitled themſelves to a ſhare in the returns. But moſt of theſe are called by Ralegh, a company of volunteers, who had never ſeen the ſeas nor wars; and, except ſome forty gentlemen, a very diſſolute, diſorderly, and ungovernable crew, whom their friends thought themſelves happy to be diſcharged of, at the hazard of ſome thirty, forty, or fifty pounds, knowing they could not have lived a whole year ſo cheap at home. There were, moreover, ſeveral merchants, not only in England but foreign parts, who contributed to this mine-adventure; ſo confident were they it was no chimera, no ſuppoſititious, or airy treaſure that was promiſed or purſued. One of theſe merchants, afterwards knighted, and very eminent for his dealings, was named Peter Vanlore, who ſo approved of ſir Walter Ralegh's undertaking, that he not only ſent a letter to his brother

brother ſir Adrian Thibaut in Amſterdam, requeſting him to engage another merchant there to communicate ſomething he knew of the riches in Guiana to ſir Walter Ralegh: but made that requeſt in ſir Walter Ralegh's own manner of expreſſion, from a copy which he drew up for him.

It is proper here to obſerve a little oppoſition that was made to this voyage. And, indeed, ſome perſons at court, who might remember what advances Ralegh had formerly made there, by the means of ſeveral exploits which he undertook at a diſtance from it; and others, admoniſhed by conſcience, that every friendly gale in his navigation would be ſplitting them upon a rock, might well be expected to obſtruct, as far as they could, his progreſs: but none do we hear of ſo impatient and clamorous againſt it as the Spaniard. For there had been now in England, about three years, an agent from Spain, named Diego Sarmiento de Acuna, better known, but not till about the time of Ralegh's death, or perhaps after it, by the title of count de Gondomar; a man, who, if he had gained that influence he did over king James purely by art, muſt be allowed a good ſhare of dexterity in the myſteries of negociation; but, as he was adapted by nature to ſooth and captivate him, no leſs than by the pretenſions of his agency, it diminiſhes the wonders of his ſucceſs in making that king ſubject to his enchantments, and keeping him ſo many years a priſoner as it were, in the Tower, he had heaped up of airy and glittering promiſes.

This was the man, who (as he is repreſented in king James's declaration) now "took the alarm, "and is ſaid to have made loud and vehement aſ-"ſertions to his majeſty in repeated audiences, "that

" that he knew, and had diſcovered the intention " and enterprize of ſir Walter Ralegh to be but " hoſtile and piratical, tending to a breach be- " tween the two crowns, and the danger and de- " ſtruction of the king his maſter's ſubjects in " thoſe parts; proteſting in a ſort againſt it." To which the king made anſwer, (as it is " there ſaid after Ralegh's death) " he would " ſend ſir Walter with a limited commiſſion, " (but how limited it was will ſoon appear) " and that he durſt not upon peril of his head, do " any ſuch matter; and, if he did, he would ſure- " ly do juſtice upon him, or ſend him bound hand " and foot into Spain, with all the gold and goods " he ſhould obtain by robbery, and bring home, " were they never ſo great."

Then the king, by ſir Ralph Winwood, got both a ſolemn proteſtation from Ralegh, that he had no other intention but only to go to thoſe gold mines; and alſo a cloſe letter to his majeſty (as it is here in his declaration juſtly called) confirming the ſame.

This cloſe letter was both written cloſe to the purpoſe, or in ſuch expreſſive terms, as to have laid open the whole ſcheme of Ralegh's voyage; and alſo, as a matter to be kept cloſe, or with the utmoſt privacy; for, it is ſaid, that upon ſuch communication, his majeſty promiſed, " on the " word of a king, to keep it ſecret:" and, it would have prevented all ſuppoſition of diſingenuity, if this cloſe letter had been fairly exhibited in that declaration, had it been when this was penned, in the king's poſſeſſion, as it ought, according to his royal promiſe. On the contrary, this ſeems to have been the very letter, by which, through the Spaniſh embaſſador's means, his maſter the king of Spain was pre-admoniſhed of Ralegh's

legh's whole enterprize, and had ſent to Guiana, before he left the Britiſh channel, to prepare a greater force than his, to oppoſe him, as will hereafter appear. Nay, it is viſible, by what immediately follows in the ſaid declaration, both that this cloſe letter (how cloſely ſoever the contents of it are with-held) did reveal the particulars of Ralegh's naval ſtrength, and that the king divulged it to the Spaniſh embaſſador; becauſe, it was ſo far from making him recede from his former jealouſy, that he is diſcovered to have objected thereupon againſt the number of ſhips Ralegh had prepared for the ſaid voyage, to which Ralegh then doubtleſs made as proper anſwer, as we ſhall find hereafter.

But, in ſhort, ſuch a propoſal, by one who bore the reputation of ſuch an active, witty, and valiant gentleman, eſpecially of ſo great a commander at ſea, as his enemies allow he had; one who muſt be thought moſt wary above all others of incurring king James's diſpleaſure, under which he had ſo long ſuffered; one who had given ſuch public proofs of his ſincerity in the proſecution of this propoſal; and one who, as the greateſt pledge he could give thereof, was actually embarking his whole fortune as well as credit, together with thoſe of his friends and relations, all finding ſecurity for their good behaviour, without any charge to the crown if they failed, and with proſpect of great advantage, if they ſucceeded, was ſo far from being overthrown by any remonſtrances of the embaſſador himſelf, or from being thought a moſt noble and generous overture by all other men, that even the king's honour is acknowledged, in his own declaration, to have been engaged, "not to deny his people the adventure and hope "of ſo great riches."

And

And yet, what character of that king's honour towards his people, is expoſed, in the ſame leaf of that very declaration, where it is pretended, that, in his own princely judgment, he gave no belief to it, as being perſuaded, that in nature there were no ſuch mines entire, or that the Spaniards, ſo induſtrious in the chace of treaſure, would have ſo long neglected the ſame, is left to the reader's deciſion. But it may be beſt diſcovered by the care taken to ſecure his majeſty's dividend ſo clearly, and to expreſs many other articles ſo doubtfully, in the commiſſion itſelf, whether it was from a magnanimous principle, or a mercenary one, from upright policy, or downright prevarication, that the ſame was granted. We ſhall here preſent the reader with an abſtract of the commiſſion.

"JAMES, by the grace of God, &c. To all "to whom theſe preſents ſhall come, &c. Where- "as ſir Walter Ralegh, knight, intendeth to un- "dertake a voyage by ſea and ſhipping, to the "ſouth parts of America, poſſeſſed and inhabited "by heathen and ſavage people, to diſcover ſome "commodities and merchandize profitable for the "ſubjects of our kingdoms, whereof the inhabi- "tants make little or no uſe; whence may enſue, "by commerce ſome propagation of the Chriſtian "faith and reformed religion among thoſe idolatrous "people: and whereas there are divers merchants, "&c. well diſpoſed to aſſiſt ſir Walter Ralegh, had "they aſſurance to enjoy their due ſhare of the "profits returned, ſir Walter Ralegh being un- "der the peril of the law; and whereas divers "other gentlemen, his kinſmen and friends, with "ſeveral captains and commanders, are deſirous "to follow and venture their lives with him, if "they might be commanded by none but himſelf:

"we,

"we, upon deliberate conſideration, deſiring the "benefit of our ſubjects, alſo to give our princely "furtherance to the ſaid ſir Walter Ralegh and his "friends, as well as to encourage others in the "like laudable enterprizes, advance the conver-"ſion of ſavages, and encreaſe traffick by our ſub-"jects of this kingdom, have of our ſpecial grace, "&c. granted ſir Walter Ralegh full power to "carry for the ſaid voyage, ſo many of our ſub-"jects, or others who will become our ſubjects, as "ſhall willingly accompany him, with ſufficient ſhip-"ping, armour, weapons, ordnance, munition, pow-"der, ſhot, &c. and all other things as he ſhall "think neceſſary for the uſe and defence of him "and his company; beſides liberty to exchange, "or otherwiſe diſpoſe of his goods or merchan-"dize, alſo to return into this or other of our "dominions, with ſuch gold, ſilver, bullion, or "any other wares, and they to be converted to "the proper uſe of the ſaid ſir Walter Ralegh and "his company; paying to us, our heirs, &c. the "full fifth part of all ſuch gold and ſilver, bullion "and ore, of gold or ſilver, pearl or precious "ſtones, as ſhall be ſo imported; with all ſuch "cuſtoms, &c. as ſhall be due for any other goods "whatever.

"Further to encourage ſir Walter Ralegh and "the adventurers, we promiſe, in verbo regio, "that no gold, ſilver, or other wares by them im-"ported from thoſe parts ſo poſſeſſed and inhabit-"ed, ſhall be ſeized by us, our heirs, or any of "our officers, but that it ſhall remain (the fifth "part of the ſaid gold, ſilver, bullion, &c. as be-"fore, with all other cuſtoms and duties being "truly paid) to the ſole uſe of ſir Walter Ralegh "and his company.

"Further of our moſt ſpecial grace, &c. we "conſtitute the ſaid ſir Walter Ralegh to be the "ſole governor and commander of all perſons who "ſhall travel, or be with him in the ſaid voyage, "or in their return. And give him full power to "correct, puniſh, pardon, and rule them accord-"ing to ſuch orders and inſtructions as the ſaid ſir "Walter Ralegh ſhall eſtabliſh, as well in caſes "capital and criminal, as civil, both marine and "other; ſo that the ſaid proceedings, as near as "conveniently may be, are agreeable to the laws "of this realm, and to the Chriſtian faith now pro-"feſſed in the church of England. And becauſe "in ſuch enterprizes great inconveniences have "grown by mutinies and diſorders for want of "ſufficient authority, we give full power to ſir "Walter Ralegh, in caſe of rebellion or mutiny "by ſea or land, to exerciſe martial law upon juſt "and apparent neceſſity, in as ample a manner as "our lieutenant-general by ſea or land, or our "lieutenants in the counties of England. And "we give ſir Walter Ralegh full power to appoint "ſuch captains, and other commanders and mi-"niſters under him, as ſhall be requiſite for the "beter ordering and governing his company.

"We further command the wardens of the "Cinque Ports, cuſtomers, and other officers, "quietly to permit ſir Walter Ralegh, and all who "ſhall adventure with him, to paſs to the ſaid "South or other parts of America, poſſeſſed and "inhabited as aforeſaid, and to return with any "goods whatever, and to ſell or otherwiſe diſpoſe "of the ſame to the only uſe of him and his com-"pany; paying the fifth part of all gold, ſilver, "bullion, &c. as before, imported, and other "cuſtoms and duties aforeſaid. And theſe preſents,

"&c.

" &c. ſhall be to the ſaid wardens, ſufficient war-
" rant. And we grant to the ſaid ſir Walter Ra-
" legh, that theſe our letters-patents, or the in-
" rollment thereof, with all the grants, clauſes, &c.
" therein ſhall be ſufficient and effectual in law,
" any law, ſtatute, &c. notwithſtanding. Wit-
" neſs ourſelves, the twenty-ſixth day of Auguſt,
" in the fourteenth year of our reign of Englan
" France, and Ireland; and of Scotland the fi
" tieth. Per breve de privato ſigillo."

This abſtract is made from the ſaid commiſſion, as it is printed in king James's declaration, and may agree with that which ſeems alſo to have been given us from the records. Whether there was originally any preamble to it, we cannot ſay. But there are authors who affirm, that in this commiſſion king James called him his truſty and well-beloved ſir Walter Ralegh. Though theſe may be words of courſe in ſuch like inſtruments, yet, if ſome words were thus taken out in that recital aforeſaid, it might give reaſon of inferring, that by the ſame liberty others have been ſqueezed in. Yet, even as it is ſuffered there to appear, it is ſurely far from being ſo clearly penned in point of thoſe limitations, it is ſaid in his majeſty's declaration he promiſed the Spaniſh embaſſador: for here is no limitation to any part of America, not only the ſouth parts, but elſewhere being authorized, and all that are habitable, inhabited in ſome degree or other by heathen and ſavage people: ſo vague, ſo equivocal, and diſputable is that diſtinction: not one word of Guiana, no owning of his own right, or the power he had lately given to plant there, no privilege for working any mine there, nor prohibition to meddle with the king of Spain's ſubjects there or elſewhere, as another

writer has well obſerved. On the contrary, full liberty to carry what arms and ammunition they pleaſed for defence, if they ſhould need it; and laſtly, the royal aſſurance of enjoying unmoleſted whatever they returned with.

In ſhort, this commiſſion muſt eaſily be obſerved to have been penned, how clearly ſoever pretended, as if king James neither knew of ſir Walter Ralegh's intention for and at Guiana; though a little before, he had the whole particulars thereof from Ralegh's own hand, or that there were any Spaniards planted there; though he appears to have known that alſo from the Spaniſh embaſſador himſelf, whoſe own kinſman, as we ſhall hear, was ſent, during Ralegh's confinement from Spain, to build and colonize upon that very ſpot to which Ralegh had now this unlimited commiſſion, as we may rather term it, to go. For, it is ſo much the reverſe of that cloſe penned letter wherein Ralegh had, ſo expreſly, and ſo unreſervedly, placed his whole truſt of this voyage in king James, that it ſeems contrived, both to hoodwink the Spaniard till the action was over, though the king betrayed it himſelf, and ſecure loop-holes ſufficient for the royal authority againſt his exceptions; but they proved ſo large, that it was thought expedient, in the end, as we ſhall find, that the commiſſion ſhould not be inſiſted on to limit or reſtrain any body.

Whether this indiſtinct power in that commiſſion made Ralegh more or leſs importunate for his pardon, we cannot ſay. Some indeed write, that he laboured hard to obtain it; but they are led into that belief by the declaration aforeſaid: whereas we find it expreſly aſſerted, in a letter of Carew Ralegh's, that his father had overtures made him of procuring his pardon for fifteen hundred pounds,

pounds, by ſir William St. John, one of the perſons of whom he purchaſed his freedem, therefore one whoſe intereſt was the leſs to be doubted in this particular; but that ſir Walter Ralegh conferring a little before his departure from England, with ſir Francis Bacon (newly made lord-keeper of the great ſeal, and not long after lord-chancellor) upon this pecuniary pardon, he poſitively adviſed Ralegh againſt it in theſe words: "Sir, the knee-timber of your voyage is money; "ſpare your purſe in this particular, for upon my "life, you have a ſufficient pardon for all that is "paſſed already, the king having, under his "broad ſeal, made you admiral of your fleet, and "given you power of the martial law over your "officers and ſoldiers." But we are elſewhere told, that even for leſs than half that money before-mentioned, that is to ſay, "for ſeven hundred "pounds the ſaid ſir William St. John, and alſo "ſir Edward Villiers (before ſpoken of) offered "ſir Walter Ralegh not only his full pardon, but "liberty not to go his voyage if he pleaſed: "and that he refuſed both; the rather becauſe he "was told by ſir Francis Bacon (as above) that his "ſaid commiſſion was as good a pardon for all "former offences, as the law of England could "afford him."

And now, near ſeven months after the date of his commiſſion, began his fleet to appear, or rather that part of it which lay in the Thames, and conſiſted of ſeven ſail. From the ſurvey which was taken thereof by the appointment of Charles earl of Nottingham the lord admiral, on the fifteenth of March in the year laſt named, it appears, that the firſt of them, or admiral, a brave ſhip, as deſcribed by one who might probably have ſeen it, and built by Ralegh himſelf, was named the

Deſtiny, of four hundred and forty tons, and thirty-ſix pieces (or more) of ordnance; ſir Walter Ralegh general, and his ſon Walter captain; beſides two hundred men, whereof fourſcore were gentlemen volunteers and adventurers, moſt of them ſir Walter's relations; which number was afterwards increaſed. Second, the Jaſon of London, 240 tons, and 25 pieces of ordnance; captain John Pennington vice-admiral, fourſcore men, one gentleman and no more. Third, the Encounter, 160 tons, 17 pieces of ordnance; Edward Haſtings, captain: (no men more, except the maſter, mentioned) but he dying in the Indies, was ſucceeded in the command by captain Whitney. Fourth, the Thunder, 150 tons, 20 pieces of ordnance; ſir Warham Sentleger captain, ſix gentlemen, ſixty ſoldiers, ten landmen. Fifth, the Flying Joan, 120 tons, 14 pieces of ordance; J. Chidley captain, 25 men. Sixth, the Southampton, 80 tons, 6 pieces of ordnance, John Bayley captain, 25 mariners, two gentlemen. Seventh, the Page, a pinnace, 25 tons, three rabnets of braſs; James Barker captain, eight ſailors. But, before Ralegh left the coaſt of England, he was joined by as many ſhips more; ſo that his whole fleet conſiſted of thirteen ſail, beſides his own ſhip. And, though we cannot be ſo particular in the remaining part, we may yet learn thus much of it, that one ſhip, named the Convertine, was commanded by captain Keymis; another, called the Confidence, was under the charge of captain Woolaſton; there was ſhallop, named the Flying Hart, under ſir John Ferne; two fly-boats under captain Samuel King, and captain Robert Smith; and a carvel, with perhaps another named the Chudleigh, beſides.

With the former part of the fleet, Ralegh ſet ſail from the Thames on the twenty-eighth of March

March aforeſaid, which was in the year 1617, and was ſoon after ready to proceed at the Iſle of Wight, when ſeveral little accidents fell out to retard his progreſs; for he ſtaid there ſome days for ſir Walter Sentleger, whoſe ſhip, the Thunder, by the negligence of her maſter, was at lee in the Thames, moreover, after Ralegh was got to Plymouth, captain Pennington was not come to the Iſle of Wight; and, when he did arrive, was forced to ride back to London to engage the lady Ralegh to paſs her word for the money which was to redeem the bread for his ſhip, amounting to thirty pounds, without which he could not have gone forward; nor could ſir John Ferne proceed till Ralegh had ſupplied him with a hundred pounds by his couſin Herbert, and procured him another hundred pounds of his friend Dr. Sutcliffe, dean of Exeter, having furniſhed himſelf with a third hundred before he came from Wales.

Ralegh ſtaid alſo for captain Whitney, who had a third part of his victuals to provide; and, to aſſiſt him, Ralegh generouſly ſold his plate at Plymouth, notwithſtanding which, and Ralegh's having given him more countenance than any other of his officers, Whitney ran away from him at the Granadoes, and drew captain Woolaſton with his ſhip after him. Ralegh had further the patience to wait ten or twelve days for captain Bayley, which he afterwards ungratefully requited by deſerting alſo the fleet at the Canaries, for no apparent reaſon but Ralegh's refuſing him a French ſhallop he took in the bay of Portugal; and yet, after Ralegh had bought her for fifty crowns, that the French might have no cauſe of complaint, Bayley might have had her if he deſired it.

For theſe reaſons he was forced to linger ſome months at Plymouth, loſing thereby a fair wind,

and indeed the ſeaſon of the year. The mean-while he publiſhed, in May following, ſuch orders throughout his fleet, as gained him great applauſe, for the regularity and inſtruction they eſtabliſhed therein.

It was the end of June, or the beginning of July, before all his company joined him and he ſailed from Plymouth: then being encountered with a violent ſtorm ſome eight leagues to the weſt of Scilly, in which captain Chidley's pinnace was ſunk, and captain King driven into Briſtol; Ralegh held it, from experience as well as reaſon, the office of a commander of many ſhips, and thoſe of different ſailings and conditions, rather to take a port, and keep his fleet together, than to endanger the loſs of his maſts and rigging, or the advantage which enemies might take, or the loſs of more time in attending another rendezvous, by the danger of a ſeparation. Therefore he put into Ireland, and was obliged to ſtay ſeven weeks there; ſo that the winds only were to be accuſed now (as he obſerves) for their delay. And here, though by his credit he procured fifty oxen, which he diſtributed among his fleet, ſome of the crew ſpared not, at his return, to calumniate him for having taken care to revictual himſelf and none of the reſt. On the nineteenth of Auguſt he ſet forward from Corke.

When he arrived at the iſland of Lancerota on the ſixth of September, Ralegh ſent a requeſt to the governor, that he might be admitted to treat for ſome proviſions: the governor ſent back word, that he would confer with Ralegh himſelf, if he would come attended but by one gentleman, and armed only with their rapiers. Ralegh taking with him lieutenant Bradſhaw, met the governor, who agreed, that if he would ſend up an Engliſh factor,

factor, whoſe ſhip then rode in the road, whatever the iſland afforded ſhould be delivered at a reaſonable rate. Ralegh ſent the factor, but the governor procraſtinated, and at laſt ſent word, that unleſs he would embark his men which lay on the ſea ſhore, the iſlanders were ſo jealous, they durſt not divide from one another to ſupply him.

Ralegh complied; but when half his men were got aboard, the iſlanders began to offer violence to the reſt. They ſlew one, and ſent the factor to tell Ralegh, they would part with nothing to him, for that they believed his company to be the Turkiſh fleet which had lately deſtroyed Puerto Sancto. The Engliſh hereupon would have gone and helped themſelves; but Ralegh conſidering what diſpleaſure it might give at home, how the merchants might ſuffer, and the poor Engliſh factor be ruined, complained to the governor of the Grand Canaries; of whom he alſo deſired leave to take water undiſturbed; but inſtead of an anſwer, when he had landed about an hundred men in the deſart part of the iſland where they found freſh water, an ambuſh was laid, by which one of his men was wounded to death, and more had been ſlain, had not captain Thornhurſt and lieutenant Hayman, two valiant gentlemen, ſeconded by ſir Warham Sentleger and young captain Ralegh, with half a dozen more, made forty of them run away. From this unavoidable fray, Bayley found pretence to withdraw, and go home again.

In want of water they ſailed to Gomera, one of the ſtrongeſt and beſt defended of all theſe iſlands, and the beſt port. The Spaniards, being ſeated upon the very waſh of the ſea, roughly ſaluted the fleet at its firſt entrance with their cannon, and the Engliſh returned their ſalutation. But, as ſoon as Ralegh recovered the harbour, and commanded

manded there ſhould be no more firing, he ſent a Spaniard he had with him aſhore, to aſſure the governor he had no intention to make war with any of the Spaniſh ſubjects; and, if any harm had been done by his great ordnance to the town it was their fault, who, by ſhooting firſt, gave the occaſion.

The governor anſwered, he thought they had been the Turkiſh fleet aforeſaid; but having been certified they were Chriſtians and Engliſhmen, and ſought nothing but water, he was willing to let them take what they pleaſed, if he might be aſſured they would make no attempt upon the town-houſes, or their gardens and fruits.

Ralegh replied, that he would give him his faith, and the word of the king of Great-Britain, his ſovereign, that if the people of the town or iſland ſhould loſe ſo much as an orange or a grape by any of his men without paying for it, he would hang him up in the market-place. And Ralegh kept his men in ſuch good diſcipline, that the governor, in divers letters (for he wrote to him every day) acknowledged how punctually Ralegh kept his faith with him, in regard to the inoffenſive behaviour of his company; and alſo how much himſelf was beholden to him for his particular civilities. For his counteſs, who was of Engliſh extraction, being a Stafford by the mother's ſide, and of the houſe of Horne by the father, having ſent Ralegh ſome preſents of fruit, ſugar, and ruſk, he returned others of greater value.

The earl moreover gave him, at his departure, on the twenty-firſt of September, a letter to Don Diego Sarmiento, the Spaniſh embaſſador in England, teſtifying how honourably Ralegh had behaved

haved to the Moriſcoes in theſe Canary iſlands during the fourteen days that he was among them. Before he ſet ſail, he diſcharged a bark of the Grand Canaries, taken by one of his pinnaces, coming from Cape-Blanc in Africa; who, complaining that his men had eaten of their fiſh to the value of ſix ducats, Ralegh gave them eight.

After having weather'd through a violent hurricane, and ſome vaſt ſhowers of rain, beſides dangers no leſs fearful within; ſickneſs now beginning to viſit his ſhip, he arrived on the ſecond of October at the iſle of Bravo: and here underwent great hazards and hardſhips; beſide the ſickneſs daily ſpreading among his men. For whereas all thoſe who navigated even between Cape de Vert and America, were accuſtomed to paſs between fifteen and twenty days at moſt, he found the wind ſo contrary to him, and indeed to nature, ſo many ſtorms and ſhowers, that he ſpent near ſix weeks in the paſſage from hence; by reaſon whereof, and the burning heat of the climate, he was in great diſtreſs for water. Here loſing anchors, cables, and water-caſk, beſides two more of his company, he was driven, after two days, by a kind of Tornado, from this iſland; which, as well as the others he touched at, before mentioned, he has well deſcribed in his journal of this unfortunate voyage.

After his return home, detraction did not ſpare to give out, that he went to Cape de Vert, knowing it to be infected, and thereby loſt many of his men; whereas he was one hundred and ſixty leagues from that cape, according to his own account, in his own apology; and had threeſcore men ill in his own ſhip before he came to Bravo, as we find it in his journal; though, if he had gone to that cape now, after the rains which had fallen,

fallen, there had been little danger of any ſuch infection. All places that lie near great rivers, in low and mooriſh grounds, do indeed, as he rightly obſerves, ſubject their inhabitants to fevers and agues; as even along both ſides of our own river Thames; and other infection is not found either in the Indies or in Africa, except when the eaſterly wind or breezes are excluded, and kept off by ſome high mountains from the valleys, whereby the air, wanting motion, ſtagnates, and becomes exceeding unhealthful, as at Nombre de Dios, and ſome other places. "But, ſays he, as good ſuc-"ceſs admits of no examination, ſo the contrary "allows of no excuſe."

Hence they proceeded, on the fourth of October, towards Guiana. But the ſickneſs reviſited them, and deſtroyed many of thoſe whom the ſtorms ſpared, carrying off numbers of his ableſt men both for ſea and land, no leſs than forty-two of his own ſhip ending their voyage with their lives, moſtly in this month, at leaſt before they reached the coaſt.

About the twelfth of the ſame month, when their ſickneſs began to be at the height, and they at the greateſt diſtance from any ſhore, they were many other ways alſo diſtreſſed; for, when they began to be in ſcarcity of water, they were alſo becalmed; yet ever threatened with extremity of tempeſtuous weather, from the ſtrange and unuſual alterations in the atmoſphere. One while the horizon muffled, as it were, in ſuch thick and fearful darkneſs, that they were forced to ſteer a day or two by candle-light; at other times, arched, and overſhot with gloomy miſts; ſo that watery rainbows were continually invading their eyes, or heavy ſhowers their bodies, and dead calms retarding their ſhips. Afterwards at Trinidad,

nidad, Ralegh obſerved, beſides two water-galls, no leſs than fifteen rainbows in one day, and one of them bent as it were both ends together, making a perfect circle; and theſe were ever followed with wet weather; for, as he alſo noted, eſpecially of the morning rainbow, it did not here produce a fair day, as in England: but one good effect enſued, that when their water was ſo ſcarce, near the latter end of this month, that the ſhip's crew was reduced to half allowance, they ſaved ſome hogſheads, which fell from the clouds, and all quenched their thirſt with great cans of this bitter draught, as Ralegh deſcribes that rain-water to have been.

On the laſt day of this month, as he was raiſed abruptly out of his bed in a ſweat, by the noiſe which a ſudden great guſt had occaſioned in his ſhip, he got a cold, which turned to a burning fever, and caſt him down for twenty days together; in which time he received no other ſuſtenance than a few ſtewed prunes, but drank every hour, both day and night; and ſweated ſo exceſſively, that he was forced to ſhift three times every day, and as often at night. At laſt the violence of his diſeaſe was abated by the oranges and other fruits he had received at Gomera of the governor's lady, which he had carefully preſerved in ſand, to his great refreſhment; and without which, as he owns himſelf, he could not have lived: but it was double the time before he could recover, in any tollerable degree, from this ſharp viſitation.

In this ſlow and ſickly manner they arrived, at laſt, on the eleventh of November, at the north cape of Wiapoco: and here Ralegh ſent for his old ſervant, Leonard the Indian, who had been in England three or four years with him; but he was removed ſo far up in the country, there was no purſuing

purſuing him: therefore he ſtood away for Caſſana, which is in five degrees on the coaſt of Guiana, at the firſt diſcovery called Port Howard, where the caſſique was alſo his ſervant, and had lived with him in the Tower of London two years.

There he arrived in a day or two, having paſſed the iſland noted for its multitude of birds and ſilk bearing trees, and from thence ſent for his ſervant Harry, the Indian, who, with other caſſiques, came and brought him great ſtore of Caſſavi bread and roaſted mullets, with plantanes, pinas, piſtacias, &c. but Ralegh ventured not to eat of the pinas, which tempted him exceedingly, till after a day or two's airing on the ſhore in a tent which was there pitched for him; then he alſo eat ſome Armadillo and a little pork, and began to gather ſtrength.

Here alſo he landed his ſick men, and recovered many; and here he buried captain Edward Haſtings (the lord Huntington's brother) who died ten days or more before; and with him his ſerjeant-major, Hart, and captain Henry Snedale; the charge of whoſe ſhip Ralegh gave to his ſervant captain Robert Smith of Cornwall. Here he alſo ſet up his barges and ſhallops, which they brought from England, in quarters, cleanſed his ſhips, trimmed up his caſks, and ſupplied them with water; fixed up a forge, and made ſuch iron works as they wanted. Thus on that ſhore, and in this river, they employed and refreſhed themſelves for about three weeks; during which time, Ralegh was very much careſſed by the Indians of his old acquaintance aforeſaid, and the other natives of this place, who cheriſhed him daily with the beſt proviſions that the country yielded, and offered him all kind of obedience, even to the making

him

him their ſovereign prince and ruler, if he would abide and ſettle himſelf among them; ſo freſh continued his memory, and ſuch unanimous impreſſions of homage and reſpect had his former behaviour ſtill left upon them; which offer he mentions with the greateſt modeſty and indifference in the diſpatch he now ſent to England: for in this interval, captain Peter Alley, one of his company, who was much troubled with a vertiginous diſorder in his head, having got leave to return home, and the opportunity of a Dutch veſſel which lay there, Ralegh, among other letters, ſent one by him to his lady, dated from Caliana the fourteenth day of November: Herein he ſays,

"I cannot write to you but with a weak hand, "for I have ſuffered a moſt violent calenture for "fifteen days that ever man did, and lived; but "God, that gave me a ſtrong heart in all my ad- "verſities, has alſo now ſtrengthened me in the "hell-fire of heat. We had two moſt grievous "ſickneſſes in our ſhip, of which forty-two have "died, and there are yet many ſick; but having "recovered the land of Guiana, this twelfth of "November, I hope we ſhall recover them. We "are yet two hundred men, and the reſt of our "fleet are reaſonably ſtrong, ſtrong enough I hope "to perform what we have undertaken, if the care "at London to make our ſtrength known to the "Spaniſh king by his embaſſador, has not taught "the Spaniſh king to fortify all the entrances "againſt us. Howſoever, we muſt make the ad- "venture, and, if we periſh, it ſhall be no honour "for England, nor gain for his majeſty, to loſe, "among many others, an hundred as valiant gen- "tlemen as England hath in it."

Then

Then havig ſpoken of Bayley's running away from him, the unnatural weather they had laboured through, and their tedious paſſage, with the preſent of fruits which had ſo much relieved him, as is before obſerved, beſides the death of ſome principal officers, and recommendation of himſelf to ſome friends in London, eſpecially his ſon Carew, he concludes thus:

"To tell you that I might be here king of the "Indians, were a vanity; but my name hath ſtill "lived among them. Here they feed me with "freſh meat, and all that the country yields. All "offer to obey me."

At this time alſo, a gentleman of his company having drawn up a diſcourſe in praiſe of Guiana, and in honour of this adventure, eſpecially of the principal diſcoverer, Ralegh himſelf, it being dated from Caliana November the ſeventeenth, ſent it alſo into England by the ſame bearer, and it was printed the following year.

On the fourth of December they left this river, and came next day to the Triangle Iſlands; but were all in danger of leaving their bones upon the ſholes before they got thither: for they were laid aground, eſpecially Ralegh's larger ſhip, for the ſpace of twenty-four hours or more; and, had it not been for fair weather, would never have got off the coaſt, having not above two fathom of water. Here, after a few days, when all the fleet was gathered together, it being conſidered in a general conſultation, that Ralegh himſelf, who had grappled with the ſickneſs for ſix weeks, and was now rather ſo much relapſed than recovered, that he could not move otherwiſe than as he was carried

carried in a chair, they reſolved that there was no thoughts of his undertaking the paſſage up the Orenoque in perſon: and further, though they could never underſtand by Keymis, who was the firſt of any nation that had entered the main mouth of that river, nor by any of their mariners, who had traded there many years for tobacco, what certainty the water was of; yet having found by experience, that ſhips at eleven foot water lay a-ground three days in paſſing up; therefore there was no attempting it with Ralegh's ſhip, which being heavier, and charged with near forty pieces of ordnance, drew ſeventeen foot. Nor would his ſon with the reſt have ventured, with the proviſions they had, through any other perſon's aſſurance or reſolution of ſtaying to relieve them at a place appointed, againſt the forces expected to approach, but that of his father and their general. So it was reſolved by all, that the five larger ſhips ſhould ride at Punta de Gallo in Trinidad, under Ralegh, to ſecure their retreat; and the five leſſer (for this was now the whole number of his fleet) with five or ſix foot companies of fifty men each, ſhould enter the river.

According to this determination, the fleet was here divided; that is to ſay, captain Whitney, in the Encounter; Woolaſton, in the Confidence; King, in the Supply; Smith, in a pink, and Hall in a carvel. The companies had for their leaders, captain Charles Parker and captain North, brothers to the lord Mounteagle and the lord North; young Ralegh; captain Thornhurſt, of Kent; captain Pennington's lieutenant, who ſeems to be another Hall; and captain Chidley's lieutenant, Prideux.

Sir Warham St. Leger, Ralegh's lieutenant, who had the charge of theſe companies, fell ſick at Ca-

liana; ſo it was conferred on George Ralegh, ſir Walter's nephew, who had ſerved with great commendation in the Low-Countries; and captain Keymis had the chief charge for their guidance and landing within the river. But Keymis having laid down the plan of his intended attempt upon the mine, and undertaken to diſcover it with ſix or eight perſons in ſir John Ferne's ſhallop, Ralegh, upon conſideration, diſliking that method of procedure, determined to alter it, and therefore gave him particular inſtructions in what manner to purſue that enterprize.

Hereupon thoſe five ſhips ſet forward, parting from Ralegh and the reſt of the fleet at the iſlands above-mentioned, with a month's proviſion, on the tenth of December: but when they found a new Spaniſh town, called St. Thome, conſiſting of one hundred and forty houſes; though lightly built, with a chapel, a convent of Franciſcans, and a garriſon erected on the main channel of the Orenoque, about twenty miles diſtant from the place where Antonio Berreo, the governor taken by Ralegh in his firſt diſcovery and conqueſt here, attempted to plant; Keymis and the reſt thought themſelves obliged, through the fear of leaving the enemy's garriſon between them and their boats, to deviate from their inſtructions, which enjoined them, firſt to carry a little party to make trial of the mine, under a ſhelter of their own camp; and then to deal with the Spaniſh town as it ſhould give cauſe, by permitting or offering to prevent them. So they concluded to land in one body, and encamp between the mine and the town; whereby, though themſelves were ſomething ſtronger, their boats were ſubject to the ſame expoſure, and the mine left untried, contrary to Ralegh's order: for, about three weeks after their departure, landing,

by

by night, it ſeems, nearer the town than they ſuſpected, and meaning to reſt themſelves on the river-ſide till morning, they were, in the night-time, ſet upon by the Spaniſh troops, apprized of and forearmed for their coming, as we ſhall ſee.

This charge was ſo unexpected, and ſtruck the common ſoldiers with ſuch amazement and confuſion, that, had not the captains and ſome other valiant gentlemen made head, and animated the reſt, they had all been cut to pieces: but the reſt, by their example, ſoon rallying, made ſuch a vigorous defence againſt the Spaniards, that they drove them to a retreat, till, in the warmth of their purſuit, the Engliſh found themſelves at the Spaniſh town before they knew where they were.

Here the battle was renewed afreſh upon them, being aſſaulted by the governor himſelf, Don Diego Palameca, and four or five captains at the head of their companies; againſt whom, captain Walter Ralegh, a brave and ſprightly young man, now twenty-three years of age, but fonder of glory than ſafety, not ſtaying for the muſquetiers, ruſhed foremoſt, at the head of a company of pikes, and having killed one of the Spaniſh captains, was himſelf ſhot by another; but preſſing ſtill forward, with his ſword upon Erinetta, probably the captain who had ſhot him, this Spaniard with the butt-end of his muſket felled him to the ground; and after theſe words, "Lord have mercy upon me, and "proſper your enterprize," young Ralegh ſpoke no more. Hereupon John Pleſſington, his ſerjeant, thruſt the ſaid Spaniſh captain through the body with his halbert. Two commanders more of the Spaniards were at the ſame time ſlain; one by John of Morocco, another of young

Ralegh's company: and, laſtly, the governor himſelf alſo loſt his life in the ſaid engagement; which happened, as Camden reckons, the ſecond of January.

The leaders being thus all diſpatched, and many of their ſoldiers, the reſt fled and were diſperſed, ſome to ſhelter about the market-place, from whence they killed and wounded the Engliſh at pleaſure; ſo as they ſaw no way left to be ſafe, but by firing the town about their ears, and driving them to the woods and mountains, whence they ſtill kept the Engliſh waking with perpetual alarms. Others were more careful to defend the paſſages to their mines, of which they had three or four not far diſtant, than they had been to defend the town itſelf. But for the magazine of tobacco, which one writer, among other erroneous repreſentations of this voyage, thought might countervail the charge of it, could it with ſome other things have been preſerved, it ſeems not to have been conſumed by the Engliſh; becauſe Ralegh had enough thereof ſoon after to have paid for the victualling of his fleet, if there had been occaſion, as himſelf has related.

All obſtructions ſeeming thus removed, captain Keymis had now a fair opportunity to make what trial he pleaſed at the mine; and that he did attempt the diſcovery will appear by the ſequel.

During the time of this ſeparation, Ralegh lay with the five larger ſhips under himſelf, captain John Pennington, his vice-admiral, one of the moſt ſufficient gentlemen for the ſea that England had; ſir Warham St. Leger, another valiant and worthy gentleman, ſir John Ferne, and captain Chidley of Devon, moſtly at Punta de Gollo, and other ports about Trinidad, no leſs than an hundred and fifty miles from the reſt of his fleet, making the adventure

adventure up the Orenoque, yet in daily apprehenſions of meeting with the Spaniſh armada, ſent purpoſely to lay wait for and deſtroy him; which it would probably have done,, after the great ſickneſs which had ſo much weakened his men, and under this diſadvantageous diviſion of his ſhips, but that the enemy luckily waited for him in a wrong place. Beſides, it having been falſly rumoured in his fleet, that he brought out of England twenty-two thouſand broad pieces of gold with him, ſome of his crew traiterouſly conſpired to ſail away while he was gone aſhore in his barge to take views and make diſcoveries of the country, which he was ſometimes wont to do, as at Terra de Brea, or the Pitch-land, as he calls it, from the bituminous ſubſtance which ſo remarkably iſſues there, as he has well deſcribed; and when he traverſed ſome woods to ſeek the trees that yield that precious balſam, whereof he got a ſmall quantity, which ſmelt like angelica; ſo to have left him a prey to famine, wild beaſts, or the no leſs unmerciful Spaniards, by whom he might have been flead alive, as other Engliſhmen, who came but to traffic, had formerly been. Add to this, the many provocations he received from the Spaniards, who were in any of the ports where his men landed, only to exchange a few commodities for tobacco or other products of the country, not only by the moſt opprobrious language, but diſcharging ſometimes a volley of twenty muſkets at a time upon them, whereby ſir John Ferne had ſome of his men killed. And laſtly, the uneaſineſs he was continually in, that he could hear no tidings of the reſt of his fleet, thus detached upon the adventure: and though ſome Indians were brought to him in the beginning of February, by one of whom, who

could ſpeak the Spaniſh tongue, he was firſt informed, that the Engliſh in Orenoque were reported, by ſome Tivitivas he had ſpoken with, to have taken St. Thome, and ſlain Diego de Palameca the governor, with captain Erinetta, and captain John Rues; that the reſt fled; and that two Engliſh captains were alſo killed.

Though the ſame was ſoon after alſo aſſerted, with other particulars, by another Indian; yet Ralegh would not ſet them down till he knew the truth; which afterwards endeavouring to compaſs of other Indians, ſaid to have been at the taking of that town, whom he ſent in purſuit of them, they eſcaped, and he was not certified in the report, even near the middle of this month, for ſo far his own journal extends.

In the mean while Keymis made an attempt for the mine, and went upon the enterprize with captain Thornhurſt, Mr. W. Herbert, ſir John Hamden, and others; but had the mortification to return without effecting his purpoſe.

Whatever ſpecious arguments Keymis alledged in his vindication, Ralegh was in no wiſe pacified with them. He utterly diſavowed the whole conduct of Keymis before ſeveral of his company, and the ignorance he had pretended to them; told him, that a blind man might have found the place, by the marks and directions himſelf had ſet down under his own hand; and that his care of loſing more men in paſſing the woods was but feigned; for after his ſon's death, it was known he had no care for any man ſurviving; and therefore, had he brought home but one hundred weight of ore, though with the loſs of as many men, it would have given the king ſatisfaction, preſerved his reputation, and encouraged a return

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the next year, with greater force, to have held the country for his majeſty, to whom it belonged; for the riches and fruitfulneſs whereof himſelf had formerly ſo largely atteſted. But ſince he had ſuffered his wilfulneſs, in ſpite of his knowledge, to defeat their whole undertaking, he ſhould indeed be glad if Keymis could make thoſe reaſons for not opening the mine paſſable with the ſtate, but that he himſelf could not juſtify the neglect.

Keymis grew deeply diſcontented hereupon, and continued ſo ſeveral days. "Afterwards he came "to me in my cabbin," ſays Ralegh, "and ſhewed "me a letter he had written to the earl of Arundel, "excuſing himſelf for not diſcovering the mine, "uſing the ſame arguments, and many others, "which he had done before; and prayed me to "allow thereof." But Ralegh, no way ſatisfied, declared that, as Keymis could plead no ignorance, he could admit of no excuſe, being wounded in his credit with the king paſt all recovery, and that this could admit of no reparation.

Keymis, ſeeing Ralegh reſolved not to favour his folly, retired as one knowing not what courſe to take, yet expreſſing, perhaps, alſo ſome deſign of giving further ſatisfaction: "and went out of "my cabbin into his own," ſays Ralegh; where having ſhut himſelf in, Ralegh ſoon after heard a piſtol go off, and ſending up to know who diſcharged it, Keymis made anſwer, he fired it himſelf, becauſe it had been long charged. About half an hour after, his boy going into his cabbin found him dead, with much blood by him, having a long knife thruſt through his left pap into his heart, and his piſtol lying by him, with which it appeared that he had ſhot himſelf; but the bullet being ſmall, and having only cracked a rib, he diſpatched himſelf effectually with the knife.

After this accident it was determined, in a council of the officers, to make for Newfoundland, to repair and refreſh their ſhips; but before, as well as after, they arrived there, great diſorders aroſe: ſome took to courſes of their own head, and ran away from him; and many others proved ſo refractory and ungovernable, that, when he came to the iſle of St. Chriſtopher's, he was forced, under the conduct of his couſin, Mr. Herbert, to ſhip them home.

By the time that Ralegh arrived on the coaſt of Ireland, the ſacking of St. Thome, the firing of the town, and the ſlaughter of the Spaniards, to the number of four or five hundred men, were largely deſcanted on by his enemies, as by his friends were his own more particular misfortunes in the long and dangerous ſickneſs he had endured; his diſappointment in the mine; the conſumption of ſo much treaſure; the loſs of his gallant ſon; the violent end of his old ſervant captain Keymis; and, above all, the general diſorder, defection, and diſperſion of his own fleet. All together, it became not ſo much a national as a univerſal topic of diſcourſe and attention; every one cenſuring or commiſerating as their intereſt or affections moved.

The Spaniſh embaſſador having gained the earlieſt intelligence of all that had paſſed at Guiana; and how, among the reſt, his own kinſman, the governor, had been ſlain, broke into the king's preſence in a turbulent manner, and bawling out for his majeſty's audience, only of one word, aſſaulted him with the abrupt and repeated exclamation of Piratas! Piratas! Piratas! At laſt he found breath and words to enlarge upon the matter ſo effectually, as what tended not only to the infringement of his majeſty's promiſe, but that happy union

union between the two crowns in their royal progeny; now the match between prince Charles and Dona Maria, with all the advantages it was pregnant with, was in ſuch a hopeful degree of maturity, even to the involving of both nations in the moſt durable and dreadful hoſtilities, that the pacific king of Great Britain was ready to do any thing in the world to appeaſe him and huſh it up.

To this purpoſe, his royal proclamation was forthwith publiſhed on the eleventh of June, ſetting forth, That,

"WHEREAS we gave liberty to ſir Walter "Ralegh and others, to undertake a voyage to "Guiana, where they had pretended a probability "of diſcovering gold mines, &c. We did, by ex- "preſs limitation and caution, reſtrain and forbid "them from attempting any act of hoſtility upon "any territories or ſubjects of foreign princes with "whom we are in amity; and, more particularly, "thoſe of our dear brother the king of Spain, in "reſpect of his dominions in that continent, "which, notwithſtanding, they have, by hoſtile "invaſion of the town of St. Thome, &c. broken "and infringed. We have therefore held fit to "make public declaration of our utter miſlike and "deteſtation of ſuch inſolencies; and, for the "better detection and clearing up of the truth, we "charge all our ſubjects, that have any under- "ſtanding or notice thereof, to repair to any of "our privy council, and make known their whole "knowledge, that we may thereupon proceed to "the exemplary puniſhment and coercion of all "ſuch as are found guilty of ſo ſcandalous and "enormous outrages."

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The next thing to be thought of was, a proper and plauſible inſtrument for the apprehenſion of ſir Walter Ralegh when he ſhould come aſhore; ſuch a one was ſir Lewis Stucley ſoon found to be (and not ſir John, as one writer erroneouſly chriſtens him) who was vice-admiral of Devon (not lieutenant of the Tower, as the ſame negligent author miſtakes again:) one who, though Ralegh's countryman, and, as all others but Stucley ſay, his kinſman too, yet moſt officiouſly undertook that charge, through the ſordid proſpect of profit; "ſo unnatural," ſays Wilſon, "and ſervile is the "ſpirit when it hath an allay of baſeneſs; there "being many others fitter for that employment." However, his orders were to bring up this great malefactor in a fair and courteous manner, according to his majeſty's gracious and mild courſe, as it is called in his declaration.

When Ralegh had ſettled his affairs in the weſt of England, he began his journey to London, purſuant to his firſt reſolution; but before he came to Aſhburton, twenty miles from Plymouth, he was met by ſir Lewis Stucley, who ſaid, he had orders for arreſting him and his ſhip. Ralegh anſwered, he had ſaved him the labour, and done it to his hands. He however formed a deſign of retiring into France, which he ſoon after dropped.

After this, Stucley received a warrant to bring up ſir Walter Ralegh, but with no more ſpeed than his bad health would permit; and he took to his aſſiſtance one Manourie, a French quack.

In their journey, they baited and lodged at ſeveral gentlemen's houſes of Ralegh's acquaintance upon the road; from ſome of whom hearing,

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more diſtinctly the nearer he approached it, what a ſtorm his enemies had brewed at court, he began to regret his having neglected the opportunity he had at Plymouth of retiring: but after that peremptory warrant, which a purſuivant brought down for the ſpeedy bringing up of his perſon, he began again to meditate upon a retreat; though, as he grew the more deſirous, it grew the more difficult.

As they travelled between Andover aud Stains, Manourie diſcovered Ralegh's intended eſcape to Stucley, who thenceforth uſed extraordinary diligence in guards and watches upon him; which Ralegh perceiving, nevertheleſs truſted Manourie with a new propoſal at Stains in theſe words; "I "ſee it is not poſſible to eſcape by our two means "alone, Stucley is ſo watchful, and ſets ſuch "ſtrict guard upon me, and will be too hard for us "with all our cunning; therefore there is no way "but to make him of our council; and if we can "perſuade him to let me ſave myſelf, I will give "him in hand the worth of two hundred pounds "ſterling." Upon theſe words he drew forth and ſhewed Manourie a jewel made in the faſhion of hail, powdered with diamonds, having a ruby in the middle, valued at one hundred and fifty pounds ſterling; and putting it into his hands ſaid, "Be"ſides this jewel he ſhall have fifty pounds in mo"ney; pray tell him as much from me, and per"ſuade him to it, I know he will truſt you."

This overture being made by Manourie, Stucley after ſome parley, ſent back word by him to Ralegh, that he would accept of his offer, and bad him tell Ralegh he was content to do as he deſired; but would rather chuſe to go with him, than ſtay behind with ſhame and reproach: directing Manourie

nourie further to aſk, how this could be done without loſing his office of vice-admiral, which coſt him ſix hundred pounds; alſo to what place they ſhould go, how they ſhould live afterwards, and what means he would carry with him to furniſh this intended eſcape?

Ralegh obviates all this with praying him to tell Stucley, That, if he would ſwear unto him not to diſcover him, he would tell him his whole intent; and that, for the firſt point, though Stucley were to loſe his office, he ſhould yet be no loſer; that, as ſoon as he was got into France or Holland, his wife was to ſend him a thouſand pounds; and that he ſhould carry with him only a thouſand crowns in money and jewels to ſerve at preſent.

After ſupper, Ralegh is further repreſented ſo open, ſo contrary to all his former character, and beyond all manner of belief, as to ſay, "Oh! if "I could eſcape without Stucley, I ſhould do "bravely; but it's no matter, I'll carry him along, "and afterwards diſpatch myſelf of him well "enough." Then Manourie having appriſed Stucley of all that paſſed, brought them together. Ralegh ſhewed the jewel, and probably delivered it, for Stucley ſhewed himſelf ſatisfied, and it was likely upon the acceptance of it, but deſired a little reſpite to diſpoſe of his office.

Manourie, having thus ſeen the agreement made, took his leave of them for London (the part deſigned for him ending here) after having ſaid to Ralegh, he did not think of ſeeing him again, while he was in England. Ralegh, at parting, gave him, by letter to a perſon at Radford, an iron furnace, with a diſtillatory of copper belonging to it; and charged him to tell every body he met, how ſick he was, and that he left him in an extreme looſeneſs that very night.

But

But as Ralegh had diſpatched captain King to London with inſtructions to be in readineſs for him, he kept moving on; when there fell out an accident which gave him freſh hopes to facilitate his eſcape: for, when he came to his inn at Brentford, he was met by a Frenchman, named La Cheſnay, a follower of Le Clerc, agent from the French king, who told Ralegh, the ſaid French agent was very deſirous to ſpeak with him, as ſoon as he got to London, about ſome affairs which highly concerned his ſafety. Accordingly, the next night after Ralegh was at London, the ſaid Le Clerc and La Cheſnay came to viſit him at his houſe: and there Le Clerc offered him a French bark, which he had prepared for him to eſcape in; and withal, his letters recommendatory for his ſafe conduct and reception, to the governor of Calais; and to ſend a gentleman expreſly that ſhould attend and meet him there. But Ralegh underſtanding the French bark not to be ſo ready nor ſo fit as that he had already propoſed for himſelf, gave him thanks, and told him, that he would make uſe of his own bark; but for his letters, and the reſt of his offer, that he ſhould be beholden to him, becauſe his acquaintance in France was worn out.

With this paſſage and a word or two only of Ralegh's attempt to eſcape, after he came to London, it not being thought proper here to expatiate upon the arts uſed in betraying it, ends the tedious fardel of objections accumulated to render him unworthy of mercy in in the king's declaration, and the ſtory aſcribed to the obſcure Frenchman aforeſaid in it, but unconfirmed by any affidavit or evidence upon oath, which, in other ſuch caſes, have been thought neceſſary vouchers: therefore how far to be called heinous offences, acts of hoſtility,

ſtility, depredations, abuſes of his charge, impoſtures and declenſions of juſtice, the reader may now firſt give his own judgment, and then compare it with what has been ſaid of theſe accuſations by others.

And now comes on the remainder of captain King's narrative; wherein he tells us, that from Saliſbury he was ſent before to London to provide a boat, and to lay her as low as Tilbury: and that he was alſo adviſed to put one Cotterell in truſt who had been Ralegh's ſervant, for the proviſion of a wherry. As ſoon as King came to London, he dealt with Cotterell, who ſeemed as willing to do ſir Walter ſervice as himſelf; but telling him of one Hart, who had been boatſwain to the ſaid captain's ſhip, and had a ketch of his own; with him the captain therefore agreed, and gave him money to get it in readineſs, having vowed ſecrecy upon the reward which the captain further promiſed him. But he had no ſooner received the thirty pieces of ſilver, than he betrayed the deſign to Mr. William Herbert, who as ſuddenly divulged it; but King, not ſuſpecting any diſcovery, ſtill fed Hart with money to keep the ketch at Tilbury.

On Friday night, which was the ſeventh of Auguſt, ſir Walter Ralegh came to London, when captain King attended on him at his lodgings, but was told by Ralegh that he could in no wiſe get ready to go off that night. It ſeems to be the next day that Stucley got his warrant to indemnify him for any contract he ſhould enter into with ſir Walter Ralegh; or to authorize his compliance with any offer he ſhould make him for his eſcape; or, in ſhort, as others have not ſpared to call it, a licence to betray him; for, though Ralegh might now have been ſecured in a direct and undiſguiſed manner,

manner, yet the glory was to do it inſidiouſly, and under the vizor of friendſhip; being not more ſuitable to the genius of predominant power, than neceſſary on the preſent occaſion, to give room for ſo many more little circumſtances of objection, as might occur to ſupply the place of one wanting, that ſhould have been capital: and this night it was, that the French embaſſador aforeſaid came to Ralegh's houſe, and made the propoſal before recited. But when captain King came to him again the ſame night, Ralegh ſaid there was no going now without Stucley, whom he doubted not but he ſhould engage to go along with him, and that the next night, without failure, he would meet the captain at the Tower Dock.

As for Mr. Herbert, aforeſaid, he was employed in garrowing ſir Walter Ralegh's houſe, as the captain phraſes it, while Ralegh, being thus drawn out of it by Stucley, under pretence of bearing him company, might be the more unexpectedly ſeized, with all ſuch private papers as he ſhould have about him; in hopes, no doubt, that by one means or other, ſomething might turn out to make a charge of ſufficient weight againſt him: but, in the concluſion, all the papers which were found, proved to be no other than what might, without any diſcredit, have been laid open to all the world.

Captain King went, as he further tells us, on Sunday night, to the place appointed with two wherries; and ſir Walter Ralegh alſo came thither, having put on a falſe beard, and a hat with a green hatband. He was accompanied with ſir Lewis Stucley, young Stucley, and his own page. Then aſking captain King, if all things were ready? he anſwered, they were, and that the cloak bag and the four piſtols were in the boat. Stucley then

then ſaluted captain King, and aſked, Whether thus far he had not diſtinguiſhed himſelf an honeſt man? To which King anſwered, that he hoped he would continue ſo.

After they had entered the boats, and divided the piſtols, they had not rowed above twenty ſtrokes, before the watermen told them, that Mr. Herbert had lately taken boat, and made as if he would have gone through bridge, but returned down the river after them. This raiſed ſome apprehenſion in Ralegh, but upon Stucley's encouragement they rowed on; yet Ralegh, not well ſatisfied, called captain King near to him, who was in the other boat with young Sucley and Hart, and intimated, that he could not go forward unleſs he was ſure of the watermen, whom he then alſo ſpake to, aſking, whether if any ſhould come to arreſt them in the king's name, they would row forwards or return. At this the great boobies were ſo frightened, that they cried, and anſwered, they knew nobody there but captain King, who had hired them to Graveſend; and that they neither dared, nor would go any further. Ralegh ſaid, that a difference with the Spaniſh embaſſador, was the cauſe, that of neceſſity he muſt go to Tilbury to embark for the Low-Countries; and that he would give them ten pieces of gold for their pains.

Then began Stucley's part, curſing and damning himſelf, that he ſhould be ſo unfortunate as to venture his life and fortune with a man ſo full of doubts and fears. He ſwore, that if the watermen would not row on, he would kill them; and perſuaded Ralegh that there was no ſuch danger as he ſuſpected; of which opinion captain King alſo ſtill was. Thus the time paſſed till they drew near

near Greenwich, when a wherry croſſed them, which Ralegh ſaid came to diſcover them. King ſought to diſſuade him from this ſuppoſition, and told him, that if they could but reach Graveſend, he would hazard his life to get to Tilbury. Theſe delays ſpent the tide, and the watermen ſaid, it was impoſſible to get to Graveſend before morning. Hereupon Ralegh would have landed at Purfleet, and Hart would have perſuaded him, that though it was night, he could procure him horſes to Tilbury. Stucley appear'd very zealous for this propoſal, and ſaid, that upon that condition, he could be content to carry the cloak-bag on his own ſhoulders half a mile; but King told him, that if they could not go by water, it was impoſſible, at that time of night, to get horſes to go by land.

By this time they had rowed as far as Woolwich, or rather about a mile beyond, which might be to a reach called the Gallions, near Plumſtead. Here, approaching two or three ketches, Hart began to doubt, whether any one of them was his. Upon this, Ralegh concluded they were all betrayed, and bid the watermen turn back, hoping to have got to his own houſe before morning, and began to examine Hart very ſtrictly, who pretended he had given his men expreſs charge not to ſtir from Tilbury till he came down; but this would not induce Ralegh to proceed.

Before they had rowed back a furlong, they eſpied another wherry, and hailing her, they ſaid they were for the king. Ralegh perceiving they were ſome of Mr. Herbert's crew, propoſed to Stucley, ſeeing they were diſcovered, and in reſpect to his ſafety, that he might remain ſtill in his cuſtody, and that Stucley ſhould openly declare to the watermen he was his priſoner, which he did. Here Stucley and he fell into private diſcourſe, contriving how Ralegh might reach his houſe; and how Stucley might

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ſave himſelf harmleſs, by ſaying, that he only pretended to go along with Ralegh, in order to diſcover his intentions, and ſeize upon his private papers. Then they whiſperéd ſome time together, and Ralegh taking ſome things out of his pockets (whether more rubies powdered with diamonds, our author does not ſay) and gave them to Stucley, who all this while not on y hugged and embraced him, as it ſeemed with the greateſt tenderneſs, but made the utmoſt proteſtations of love, friendſhip, and fidelity.

When they were got back to Greenwich, Stucley ſaid, that he durſt not carry Ralegh to his houſe, but perſuaded him to land, which they did; the other ſtrange boat landing at the ſame time, in which the men, they perceiyed, belonged to Mr. W. Herbert and ſir William St. John, the ſame who had made good profit of Ralegh before, as we have read. Upon Greenwich bridge Stucley told captain King it would be for ſir Walter's good, that he ſhould pretend he was conſenting with him to betray his maſter. King, not able to fathom the depth of his policy, as he tells us, refuſed it, thinking he ſhould not only thereby bely his own conſcience, but make himſelf odious to the world; therefore, though Ralegh himſelf made ſome motion of it to him, he could not, how ſerviceable ſoever it might prove, be guilty of ſo much inſincerity towards him. Then Stucley arreſted the captain in his majeſty's name, and committed him to the charge of two of Mr. Herbert's men. After this they all went to a tavern, and, by the way, captain King heard Ralegh ſay, "Sir Lewis, theſe actions will not turn out to your "credit."

Ralegh was kept apart from King till morning, when, as they entered into the Tower, Ralegh ſaid to him, Stucley and Cotterell have betrayed

me;

me; adding, for your part, you need be in fear of no danger, but as for me, it is I am the mark that is ſhot at. Then captain King, being forced to take his leave, left Ralegh to his tuition, with whom I do not doubt (ſays he) but his ſoul reſteth. And ſo concludes his narrative.

Ralegh, as was before mentioned, was now priſoner again in the tower of London, being brought thither on Monday morning the tenth of Auguſt. About two or three days after, a committee was ſelected to examine into the foreſaid eſcape, it being a matter luckily capable, and highly neceſſary to be enlarged upon, in order to fill up the meaſure of accuſation. Such a premeditated flight was therefore declaimed againſt as a crime ſo heavy and ſo heinous, ſuch a diſdain or deſpair of his majeſty's mercy, as was greatly to be expected could never obtain his forgiveneſs. Then again, for ſir Walter Ralegh to alienate himſelf thus from his native country by means of a foreign power, was ſtretched out to the idea of a ſeparation as horrid as the breach of ſome huge rock or promontory from the main land, when its foundation was ſap'd and waſhed away by undermining waves.

The arguments Ralegh now returned to extenuate this mighty tranſgreſſion, having been by no author tranſmitted to us, it is not impoſſible but they were, with the reſt of his juſtification, before thoſe commiſſioners, during the time of this his laſt impriſonment, induſtriouſly ſtifled.

Though all other events and motions in this expedition were now alſo racked and tentered by his adverſaries; though the commiſſioners (who were perhaps the ſame, mentioned in a kind of oblique manner, at the end of the king's declaration, as witneſſes thereof) came now conſtantly to the Tower, to pick out or catch hold of any thing that might contribute ſome plauſible matter to

condemn him; yet, after the examinations, re-examinations, and confrontments of the moſt diſcontented perſons in the late voyage, none of all the depoſitions upon oath, that are pretended to have been taken, or were really wormed out of them, were ever thought ſo material by the ſaid commiſſioners, as to have been diſtinctly brought to light, either in that declaration or elſewhere, againſt ſir Walter Ralegh. Much leſs may we expect to meet with any of the arguments urged by himſelf in his own defence during this inquiſition, or cloſe and private manner of ſifting him from ſo many quarters. And yet, if they had been fairly preſented to the public, it is not thought they could have given the world greater ſatisfaction, or have cleared him better, than what he had juſt before written, both in his letter to the lord Carew, and at the end of his apology, to prove the authority he had for the late action at Guiana, the integrity of his conduct in it, with the reaſon and neceſſity thereof. Wherein it appears, he abſolutely depended on the honour of king James to continue now, as he had begun, the maintenance of his right to that country which Ralegh had lawfully poſſeſſed for the crown; at leaſt, ſo far, as not to renounce or circumvent his own commiſſion: otherwiſe, how well he knew that if he made the leaſt oppoſition to any reſiſtance of his attempt, he was liable to be purſued as an invader; or if he returned with any gold, to be proſecuted as a plunderer by the Spaniards; and if he did neither, that he was ſtill no leſs liable to be accuſed as an impoſtor by his co-adventurers. But, in this latter reſpect, all ſuſpicion was clearly removed, even from thoſe who, by their loſſes in this voyage, would have been moſt readily prompted to make ſuch reproach, when they found

found Ralegh prove himſelf as in theſe writings, to the face of mankind, ſuch a far greater loſer than any of the reſt hereby, as was before obſerved: and, as for the other two objections, Ralegh has alſo made it no leſs amply evident in the ſame pieces, how glaringly he muſt appear to the world, a mere premeditated, or deſigned ſacrifice to one of them, if king James ſhould maim his ſovereignty of its title to Guiana, or now diſclaimed the undertaking there which he had before authorized.

For therein he has ſhewn, that his majeſty was well reſolved of his right in thoſe parts bordering the Orenoque to the ſouth, as far as the Amazons, by having formerly given the Engliſh leave to plant and inhabit there; and that his own propoſal to go thither, was not accounted of as what would endanger the peace, even by the Spaniſh embaſſador, who pretended it to be needleſs that Ralegh ſhould carry ſuch ſtrength with him, if he intended no other enterprize; for that he ſhould work any mine there without diſturbance; but had a good reaſon returned by Ralegh for that ſtrength, from the example of ſir John Hawkins.

Further ſhewing, that for the Spaniards to ſet up a town upon the Orenoque, was ſuch a uſurpation, and that their king ſhould thereupon call himſelf king of Guiana, was as unreaſonable as if he were to call himſelf king of Ireland, becauſe he took poſſeſſion at Smerwick, and built a fort there. Having alſo ſhewn, that no peace could be broken there by him, where no peace was maintained by the Spaniards, both from their bloody uſage of the Engliſh, who had lately been to trade there, and from the words in the king of Spain's late letters to the governor; "who firſt called us enemies, "when he hoped to cut us in pieces, ſays Ralegh,

"and having failed, peace-breakers; when, to "be an enemy and a peace-breaker in one and the "ſame action, is impoſſible." Moreover, that here the Spaniards began the firſt ſlaughter; that their town was not burnt by any knowledge or permiſſion of his, nor his directions to the mine followed.

Laſtly, having obſerved how little the Spaniards can endure that the Engliſh nation ſhould look upon any part of America, being above a fourth part of the whole known world, tho' the hundredth part was never poſſeſſed by the Spaniards; and withal, the many ill conſequences of acknowledging, that we have offended the king of Spain by landing in Guiana, even to the ruin of our navigation, trade, power, and dominion in this quarter of the globe, where there was as much room and reaſon for advancing the honour and riches of England as of any ſtate in Chriſtendom; he concludes his apology with theſe words: "I have ſaid "it already, and I will ſay it again, that if Guiana "be not his majeſty's, the working of a mine "there, and the taking of a town there, had been "equally perilous; for, by doing the one, I had "robbed the king of Spain, and been a thief; "and, by the other, a diſturber or breaker of the "peace."

Now, it is plain, that king James ſo much waved his right to Guiana, at leaſt till Ralegh was put to death (for then he aſſumed it again, by the power he gave for another expedition to thoſe parts, however irreſolutely, according to cuſtom, he revoked it) that, as we obſerve in his declaration, not only the place which Ralegh went to is pretended to be out of his commiſſion, but the title he ſtood upon, to be no ways compatible with it. Yet ſo inconteſtably did Ralegh make it appear, no doubt in his examinations at preſent, no leſs

than

than in the writings above-mentioned, that if any peace could be broken where no peace had been maintained, it muſt either be by king James himſelf, in firſt granting a commiſſion to plunder another prince (for he knew where Ralegh was going, and no where declines his knowledge that the Spaniards were ſettled there) and then betraying it to procure a defeat of the very attempt he had empowered; or elſe, by the Spaniards themſelves, in reſiſting his endeavours to put it in execution; that after all this queſtioning, canvaſſing, and heaping up of allegations againſt him, the council could not think it juſtifiable to take away ſir Walter Ralegh's life for all that had paſſed at Guiana. Yet, as he muſt be put to death, they found a way to appeaſe the Spaniards with his blood, by making this laſt action at St. Thome the efficient cauſe, but the obſolete condemnation at Wincheſter, fifteen years paſt, the nominal cauſe of his deſtruction: as a courſe whereby both the law would be judicially ſatisfied, and the title be left, for fear of diſpleaſure, undecided.

So in the whole, it was reſolved there ſhould be room enough to revoke the king's former mercy, as it appears in his declaration; and that Ralegh might loſe his head upon his former attainder; notwithing the inconſiſtencies apparent in ſuch a concluſion to men of penetration; among whom, Carew Ralegh has very well obſerved thereupon, that his father was condemned for being a friend to the Spaniards, and loſt his life by the ſame ſentence for being their enemy.

A method, however, at laſt being thus pieced out, the king, or thoſe with whom he left the management of this affair when he went upon his progreſs, appeared very eager for bringing it to a period. Therefore, as the ſhorteſt way, a privy-ſeal was ſent to the judges, frothwith to order ex-

ecution. But they, conſidering there ought to be ſome face of regularity in the matter, and a little finger in the court of juſtice to ſlide it off, with as much decency and ſmoothneſs as the buſineſs would allow of, demurred upon that extra-judicial manner of proceeding.

Therefore, on Friday the twenty-third of October, there was a conference held upon the form or manner how priſoners, who have been attainted of treaſon and ſet at liberty, ſhould be brought to execution, between all the juſtices of England, as one of them, judge Hatton tells us; wherein the queſtion being put, Whether a privy-ſeal was ſufficient, it being directed to the juſtices of the King's-Bench, to command them to award execution againſt ſir Walter Ralegh; or how they ſhould proceed before execution be awarded? It was reſolved by all, that he ought to be brought to the bar, by habeas corpus to the lieutenant of the Tower, and then demanded, if he could ſay any thing why execution ſhould not be awarded? For the proceedings againſt him being before commiſſioners, they are delivered only into the court of King's-Bench, or they might have remained in a bag or a cheſt, and no roll made thereof; and ſo long time paſſing, it is not a legal courſe that he ſhould be commanded by a privy ſeal or great ſeal to be executed, without being demanded, what he hath to ſay? For he might have a pardon, or he might ſay he was not the ſame perſon: as if one be outlawed of felony, and taken, he ſhall not be preſently hanged, but he ſhall be brought to the bar, and ſo demanded, &c. Upon this reſolution, a privy-ſeal came to the juſtices of the King's-Bench, commanding them to proceed againſt him according to law.

In what ſenſe he was ſo proceeded againſt may be better underſtood by that notice, which on the twenty-

24th of October, being the next day, Ralegh received from the commiſſioners to prepare for death: and, by his not being ſuffered, when he ſoon after appeared in court before the judges, according to law, to make any defence of himſelf for what had been the occaſion of his coming thither; as may be ſeen by the following abſtract of the ſaid proceedings.

On Wedneſday, the twenty-eighth of October, ſir Walter Ralegh, at eight o'clock in the morning, was awaked out of a fit of a fever, with a ſummons preſently to appear at the King's-Bench bar at Weſtminſter; and, ſoon after nine o'clock, he was, by writ of habeas corpus, brought thither. The writ being delivered to the judges by ſir Walter Apſley, and ſir Walter Ralegh's conviction at Wincheſter read, the Attorney, Mr. Henry Yelverton, ſet forth,

That the priſoner, having been fifteen years ſince convicted of high-treaſon, and then received the judgment of death, his majeſty of his abundant grace, had been pleaſed to ſhew mercy unto him, till now that juſtice called to him for execution. "Sir Walter Ralegh," continued he, "hath been "a ſtateſman, and a man who, in regard to his parts "and quality, is to be pitied: he hath been as a "ſtar at which the world have gazed; but ſtars "may fall, nay they muſt fall, when they trouble "the ſphere wherein they abide. It is therefore "his majeſty's pleaſure now to call for execution "of the former judgment, and I now require or-"der for the ſame."

Then the clerk of the crown, Mr. Fanſhaw, having read the record of the conviction and judgment, the priſoner, holding up his hand, was aſked, What he could ſay, why execution ſhould not be awarded againſt him. Ralegh told the lords,

lords, His voice was grown weak by his late ſickneſs, and an ague he had at that inſtant upon him, in which he was brought thither; therefore, as it appears in another copy of theſe proceedings before referred to, deſired the relief of a pen and ink. But the lord-chief-juſtice, ſir Henry Montague, telling him he ſpake audibly enough, he went on to this effect: That he hoped the judgment he received ſo long ſince to die, could not now be ſtrained to take away his life; ſince, by his majeſty's commiſſion for his late voyage, it was implied to be reſtored, in giving him power, as a marſhal, on the life and death of others; and ſince he undertook the ſame to honour his ſovereign, and enrich his kingdom with gold, "of the ore where-"of, this hand," ſaid he, "hath found and taken "in Guiana."

Then beginning to mention by what unavoidable and unblameable means the ſaid enterprize miſcarried, the lord-chief-juſtice interrupted and told him, Whatever he ſpoke touching his voyage was not to the purpoſe; alſo, that his commiſſion could be of no ſervice to him; that treaſon was not pardoned by implication, and that he muſt ſay ſomething elſe to the purpoſe, otherwiſe they muſt proceed to give execution.

Ralegh then finding whatever he ſhould offer in vindication of himſelf would be to no purpoſe, put himſelf upon the king's mercy; yet gave ſome reaſons why he hoped the king would take compaſſion upon him concerning that judgment which was ſo long paſt, in which both his majeſty was of opinion, and there were ſome preſent who could witneſs, that he had hard uſage.

The lord-chief-juſtice adviſed him to the wiſdom of ſubmiſſion, and told him, he was called to grant execution upon the judgment given fifteen years

years ſince; all which time he had been as a dead man in the law, but the king in mercy ſpared him; that he might think it heavy if this were done in cold blood; but it was not ſo, for new offences had ſtirred up his majeſty's juſtice to revive what the law had formerly caſt upon him. "I know," continued he, "that you have been "valiant and wiſe, and I doubt not but you retain "both theſe virtues, for now you ſhall have occa- "ſion to uſe them. Your faith hath heretofore "been queſtioned, but I am perſuaded you are a "good Chriſtian; for your book, which is an ad- "mirable work, doth teſtify as much. I would "give you counſel, but I know you can apply "unto yourſelf far better than I am able to give "you. I give you the oil of comfort," ſaid he, "though in reſpect that I am a miniſter of the law, "mixed with vinegar."

Nay the judge further gave him, how unneceſſary ſoever he juſt before owned it to be, one lecture upon ſorrow. "Sorrow," ſaid he, "will "not avail you in ſome kind; for, were you pained, "ſorrow would not eaſe you; were you afflicted, "ſorrow would not relieve you; were you tor- "mented, ſorrow would not content you; and yet "the ſorrow for your ſins would be an everlaſting "comfort to you." Then another alſo upon death. "You muſt do as that valiant captain did," ſaid he, "who, perceiving himſelf in danger, ſaid, in "defiance of death, Death, thou expecteſt me; "but, maugre thy ſpite, I expect thee. Fear not "death too much, nor fear death too little; not "too much, leſt you fail in your hope; nor to lit- "tle, leſt you die preſumptuouſly: and here I muſt "conclude my prayers to God for it, and that he "would have mercy on your ſoul." So he ended with ſaying, "Execution is granted."

Ralegh

Ralegh then desired, that he might not be cut off so suddenly; for that he had something to do in discharge of his conscience, something to satisfy his majesty, and something the world in. He desired further that he might be heard at the day of his death; and concluded with calling on God to be his judge, before whom he should shortly appear, that he was never disloyal to his majesty; "which "I will justify," said he, "where I shall not fear "the face of any king on earth."

Thus the manuscripts here chiefly followed conclude; but, in the more ancient copy of these proceedings, Ralegh's conclusion to the same sense is thus more copiously expressed: "I most humbly "beseech your lordships, that you will grant me "some time before my execution, that I may set-"tle my affairs and mind more than they yet are; "for I have much to do, both for my reputation, "conscience, and loyalty; and I would beseech "the favour of pen, ink, and paper, to express "myself something thereby, and to discharge "myself of some trust of worldly matters that were "put in me; which leisure, I beseech you think, "that I now crave not for to gain one minute of "life; for now, being old, sickly, in disgrace, "and certain to go to it, life is wearisome to me: "and I do lastly beseech your lordships, that, "when I come to die, I may have leave to speak "freely at my farewell, to satisfy the world only, "that I was ever loyal to the king, and a true "lover of this commonwealth; for this I will seal "with my blood." So craving their prayers, he was led away to the Gate-house, near the Palace-yard.

The king was all this while retired, as it were, or at some distance, from this tragical scene, as if he

he meant to have diverted himſelf not only from the ſight or report, but even the thoughts of it: yet what an effectual and expeditious hand he had in it, may further appear by his ſpecial warrant for the execution; which was produced ready ſigned, as if at Weſtminſter, in a manner as ſoon as the ſentence was over, being dated the ſame day, and directed to his chancellor Verulam. Herein his gracious majeſty, diſpenſing with the manner of execution, according to his former judgment, and releaſing him of the ſame, to be drawn, hanged, and quartered, ſays,

"Our pleaſure is, inſtead thereof, to have the "head only of the ſaid ſir Walter Ralegh cut off, "at, or within, our palace of Weſtminſter; com- "manding the ſaid chancellor hereupon, to direct "two ſeveral writs under the great-ſeal; one to "the lieutenant of the Tower, or his deputy, for "the delivery of ſir Walter Ralegh to the ſheriffs "of Middleſex at the ſaid palace; and the other to "the ſaid ſheriffs for the receiving the ſaid ſir Wal- "ter Ralegh from the ſaid lieutenant, and for ex- "ecuting him there; for which this to be his war- "rant and diſcharge againſt us, our heirs and "ſucceſſors for ever."

We find, about the ſame time, ſome petitions preſented to the king in behalf of ſir Walter Ralegh, which were ſtrengthened with the ſollicitations of ſome perſons in great power and eſteem with his majeſty; but ſhall not wonder at their having no effect with him, to mitigate this preremptory and rigorous doom, if it be true as an author, who had opportunity enough of obſerving his diſpoſition, and abilities ſufficient to give a clear judgment of it, has ſaid thereof, with relation to ſir Walter Ralegh, that "king James ſo far participated of

"the

" the humour of a puſilanimous prince, as to par-
" don any ſooner than thoſe injured by himſelf."

As for Ralegh, we find not that he harboured the leaſt expectation or deſire of a reprieve; for that all the oppreſſions of age, ſickneſs, obloquy, ſpoil and loſs of all his means, beſides the other indignities he now lay under, baniſhed every wiſh of redreſs in the world, but by that diſſolution which puts an end to all worldly miſeries, appears pretty evident in the letter he ſeems to have written but a ſhort time before his death to the king; in which, he rather acknowledges ſome former tendencies to favour and compaſſion, than deſires any repetition of them; and gives a very good reaſon for having no further proſpect of any thing ſubſtantial therein; where he ſays, " I have not " ſpared my labour, my poor eſtate, and the " hourly hazard of my life; but God hath other-" wiſe diſpoſed of all, and now end the days of " my hope." But if the days of his hope had ended when he landed at Plymouth, the days of his life had probably been augmented to a much greater number.

The next morning, being Thurſday, the twenty-ninth of October, and the lord-mayor's day, ſir Walter Ralegh was conducted, by the ſheriffs of Middleſex, to the Old Palace-yard in Weſtminſter, where there was a large ſcaffold erected before the Parliament houſe for his execution. He had on a wrought night-cap under his hat, a ruff band, a black wroughr velvet night-gown over a hair-coloured ſattin doublet, and a black wrought waiſt-coat, a pair of black cut taffetty breeches, and aſh-coloured ſilk ſtockings.

He mounted the ſcaffold with a cheerful countenance, and ſaluted the lords, knights, and gentlemen

tlemen of his acquaintance there preſent. Then proclamation being made by an officer for ſilence, he introduced his ſpeech with informing them, That, as he was yeſterday taken out of his bed in a ſtrong fit of a fever, which much weakened him, and whoſe untimelineſs forbearing no occaſion or place, he expected it again to-day; therefore did firſt implore God, that he would preſerve him from the interruptions thereof at this time, and next deſired the audience, if any diſability of voice or dejection of countenance ſhould appear in him, that they would impute it rather to the diſorder of his body than any diſmay of mind. Then pauſing a little, he ſat down, and directed himſelf towards a window where the lords Arundel, Northampton, Doncaſter, with other nobles, were ſitting, and begun his ſpeech. But they being at ſome diſtance from the ſcaffold, he apprehended they did not plainly diſtinguiſh his words, therefore ſaid, he would ſtrain his voice, for that he would willingly have them hear him. To which the lord Arundel anſwered, they would rather come down to the ſcaffold; which he and ſome others did. Then ſir Walter Ralegh, having ſaluted them ſeverally, made a ſpeech, in which he vindicated himſelf with equal eloquence and ſtrength of reaſon.

Proclamation being afterwards made, that all men ſhould depart the ſcaffold, he prepared himſelf for death, giving away his hat and cap and money to ſome attendants who ſtood near him. When he took leave of the lords and other gentlemen, he entreated the lord Arundel to deſire the king, that no ſcandalous writings to defame him might be publiſhed after his death. Concluding, "I have a long journey to go, therefore muſt take "my leave."

Then

Then having put off his gown and doublet, he called to the headſman to ſhew him the ax, which not being ſuddenly done, he ſaid, "I pr'ythee let "me ſee it. Doſt thou think that I am afraid of "it?" Having fingered the edge of it a little, he returned it, and ſaid ſmiling to the ſheriff, "This "is a ſharp medicine, but it is a ſound cure for "all diſeaſes;" and having intreated the company to pray to God to aſſiſt and ſtrengthen him, the executioner kneeled down and aſked him forgiveneſs; which Ralegh, laying his hand upon his ſhoulders, readily granted. Then being aſked which way he would lay himſelf on the block, he anſwered, "So the heart be right, it is no matter "which way the head lies." As he ſtooped to lay himſelf along, and reclined his head, his face being towards the eaſt, the headſman ſpread his own cloak under him. After a little pauſe, he gave the ſign that he was ready for the ſtroke by lifting up his hand; and his head was ſtruck off at two blows, his body never ſhrinking or moving.

His head was ſhewed on each ſide of the ſcaffold, and then put into a red leather bag, and, with his velvet night-gown thrown over it, was afterwards conveyed away in a mourning-coach of his lady's. His body, as we are told, was buried hard by, in the chancel of St. Margaret's church, near the alter: but his head was long preſerved in a caſe by his widow, for ſhe ſurvived him twenty-nine years; and after her death, it was kept alſo by her ſon Carew, with whom it is ſaid to have been buried.

Thus have we ſeen how ſir Walter Ralegh, after a ſhining and conſpicuous ſeries of actions againſt the enemies of his country, and for the improvement of navigation as well as the enlargement and enrichment of the Britiſh empire, under one ſove-

reign,

reign, as deprived of his liberty; his eſtate and his life under another.

Writers vary in their accounts of his age; but the moſt credible hiſtorians inform us, that he was ſixty-ſix years old at his execution. Yet was it conjectured, by the extraordinary effuſion of blood from his veins, that he had ſtock and ſtrength enough left of nature to have ſurvived many years.

King James, ſoon after Ralegh's execution, beginning to ſee how he was, and would be, deluded by the Spaniard, made one of his miniſters write to his agent in Spain, to let that ſtate know, they ſhould be looked upon as the moſt unworthy people in the world, if they did not now act with ſincerity, ſince his majeſty had given ſo many teſtimonies of his; and now of late, by cauſing ſir Walter Ralegh to be put to death, chiefly for the giving them ſatisfaction. Further, to let them ſee how, in many actions of late, his majeſty had ſtrained upon the affections of his people, and eſpecially in this laſt concerning ſir Walter Ralegh, who died with a great deal of courage and conſtancy. Laſtly, that he ſhould let them know how able a man ſir Walter Ralegh was, to have done his maſter ſervice. Yet, to give them ſatisfaction, he had not ſpared him; when, by preſerving him, he had greatly conciliated the favour of his ſubjects, and had at command, upon all occaſions as uſeful a man as ſerved any prince in Chriſtendom.

THE LIFE AND DEATH OF LORD STOURTON.

CHARLES, lord Stourton, was deſcended from the moſt noble, and right honourable, Charles Stourton, lord Stourton, of Stourton, in the county of Wilts; ſo created on the thirteenth of May, in the year 1448, the twenty-ſixth of Henry VI.

Charles, the ſubject of this part of our hiſtory, was the ſon of William, lord Stourton, and Elizabeth, daughter of Edmund, and ſiſter to John Dudley, duke of Northumberland.

This unhappy nobleman was hanged for murder in the reign of queen Mary, A.D. 1556; and, though juſtice was adminiſtered in the moſt arbitrary and tyrannical manner, in that bigotted age, it is univerſally acknowledged that lord Stourton deſerved his fate. Mention is frequently made of him in the council-book of Edward VI. as being imbroiled with one Mr. Hartgyl, his neighbour; he was ſeveral times confined and bound over upon that account, as Hartgyl and his ſon were likewiſe: but, as Stourton had conſiderable intereſt in the council, he with eaſe procured his liberty; he had even the addreſs to vindicate himſelf, though it was proved that he had oppoſed the ſheriff forcibly when he came with the poſſe comitatus to take poſſeſſion of an eſtate. Such partiality ſhewn to him when

when guilty of ſo high a miſdemeanour ſhews that the crime for which he ſuffered muſt have been of the blackeſt dye; and indeed it is probable that a bigotted catholic would not have been ſacrificed to juſtice in that reign, if any pretext could have been found to ſave him.

Lord Stourton being a violent papiſt, could have no opportunity of gratifying his reſentment againſt Hartgyl (which was occaſioned by a family quarrel) during Edward's reign; as he therefore, in the beginning of queen Mary's reign, renewed his violences, the council, upon Hartgyl's application, interpoſed; and, upon Hartgyl's conſenting to live in friendſhip with Stourton, the latter ordered his followers to way-lay him and his ſon, as they were coming to pay a conciliatory viſit at Stourton's houſe; and it was with much difficulty that young Hartgyl, after being wounded, eſcaped with life.

This breach of hoſpitality, greatly aggravates lord Stourton's crime. Hartgyl came to viſit him as a gueſt, and conſequently he ſhould, to uſe the emphatical words of Shakeſpear,

"Againſt the murderer ſhut the door,
"Not bear the knife himſelf."

Stourton for this attempt was committed to the Fleet, and condemned to pay a large ſum to Hartgyl; but, upon his giving bond to ſurrender himſelf priſoner, he was permitted to go down to his own houſe for a ſhort time. From thence he decoyed the Hartgyl's to meet him, under pretence of paying them the money in which he had been fined: and their weakneſs muſt have been equal to his treachery, or they would never have truſted themſelves with a man whoſe baſeneſs and perfidy they had before experienced.

No ſooner did they appear in the church-yard of Kelmington, the place appointed, but Stourton ordered his ſervants to ſecure and bind them. He, with his own ſword, cut in pieces the wife of the younger Hartgyl, who entreated him to ſpare her huſband. His audaciouſneſs was equal to his cruelty; for, in the face of the world, and in defiance of juſtice, he led them bound through the country to his own houſe at Stourton, where he ordered his ſervants to knock them down with clubs, and he himſelf held the candle till they cut the throats of the old man and his ſon.

The murder being committed, he cauſed their carcaſſes to be buried fifty feet deep in the earth, thinking thereby to prevent diſcovery. But divine vengeance purſued the murderers, who probably never would have perpetrated ſo glaring a barbarity had they not relied on their merits with the government as papiſts. This is not the only example which proves, that the Romiſh religion has a tendency to render men cruel and ſanguinary. It is univerſally known that murders have been always much more frequent in Roman catholic countries than elſewhere; and this may probably be owing in a great meaſure, to the doctrine of abſolution.

But to return to lord Stourton, the fact was too notorious to be denied; he was therefore brought to his trial at Weſtminſter-Hall, by a commiſſion directed to the judges and ſome of the privy-council. At firſt he refuſed to plead, but the lord-chief-juſtice informed him that, if he perſiſted in his contumacious refuſal, his being a peer of the realm would not ſave him from being preſſed to death. Upon this he confeſſed the fact; and ſentence of death being pronounced againſt him, he was, in purſuance thereof, executed at Salisbury in 1557.

In

In conſideration of his quality, a halter of ſilk was made uſe of upon this occaſion. Four of his ſervants were executed at the ſame time. His monument is ſtill to be ſeen at Saliſbury, with the ſilken halter hanging.

This ſingular mark of diſtinction ſhewn him upon an occaſion which reduces the greateſt to a level with the meaneſt, looks rather like an inſult than an alleviation of his ſufferings. It is ſomewhat like an expedient once deviſed by the emperor Galba, who, when he was governor of Spain, ordered a gentleman to be crucified for poiſoning his gueſt. Crucifying among the Romans was the puniſhment of ſlaves; for which reaſon the poiſoner murmured greatly, and repreſented it as highly unjuſt, that a perſon of his rank ſhould be put to ſo ignominious a death. Hereupon Galba cauſed a croſs of a larger ſize than uſual to be erected, and covered over with gilding and paint; ſo that the gentleman who could not endure the thoughts of dying like a ſlave, had the conſolation of hanging in ſtate.

Indeed, when a nobleman is condemned to die in the ſame manner with the loweſt of the vulgar, it appears altogether unneceſſary to change ſome of the concomitant circumſtances of the execution; and the choice of a late unfortunate nobleman was highly judicious in preferring a common halter to one of ſilk, which would only have ſerved frequently to renew the memory of his unhappy cataſtrophe; a cataſtrophe which is likely to be remembered too long, though the inſtrument of his ſhameful death does not hang over his monument.

To return to lord Stourton, he married Anne, daughter to Edward Stanley, earl of Derby, and by her left three ſons, John, Edward, and Charles;

whereof, John, being restored in blood by act of parliament, in 1875, was one of the peers who sat upon the trial of Mary, queen of Scots; but died without issue in 1588.

History affords no farther information concerning lord Stourton, whose barbarous murder and ignominious death have rendered him the object of public curiosity. It were to be wished his name had been buried in everlasting oblivion, since it is a blot in the history of our nation, and is remembered to the dishonour of nobility.

THE

THE LIFE AND DEATH OF THOMAS WENTWORTH.

SIR THOMAS WENTWORTH was the ſon of ſir William Wentworth, baronet, and Anne, daughter and heir to ſir Robert Atkins of Stowell, in the county of Glouceſter, knight.

Thomas Wentworth ſucceeded his father in the title of baronet, and likewiſe in the baronies of Newmarſh and Overſley. He was born on the thirteenth of April, 1593, ſeven minutes after three in the afternoon; and the famous Lilly, who calculated his nativity, has laid down aſtrological reaſons for his violent death.

He was a perſon of moſt extraordinary accompliſhments, which raiſed him to very ſignal honours and preferments. He at firſt diſtinguiſhed himſelf amongſt the king's oppoſers; for which reaſon he was, in the year 1625, made ſheriff of Yorkſhire, to prevent his being choſen member of parliament.

In 1626, he was put in confinement for refuſing to contribute to the loan, then exacted by Charles I. In the parliament, in 1627, he ſignalized himſelf as a patriot upon occaſion of the enquiry made into the grievances of the nation by the commons. The abuſes which they took into conſideration, were billetting of ſoldiers, loans by benevolence and privy-ſeals, impriſonment of gentlemen refuſing to lend, denial of releaſe upon a

habeas corpus; and, amongſt many ſpeeches made upon this occaſion, none were taken more notice of than that made by ſir Thomas Wentworth againſt the government.

He juſtly obſerved that thoſe things were not to be imputed to the king, but to the projectors; that is, to the miniſters, or others who had formed the deſign of ſtretching the prerogative beyond its due bounds; of whom he ſpoke in this manner:

"They have brought the crown into greater "want than ever, by anticipating the revenues: "and can the ſhepherd be thus ſmitten, and the "ſheep not ſcattered? They have introduced a "privy-council, raviſhing at once the ſpheres of "all antient government, impriſoning us without "either bail or bond. They have taken from us, "what? What ſhall I ſay? Indeed, what have "they left us? All means of ſupplying the king, "and ingratiating ourſelves with him, taking up "the root of all propriety."

Sir Thomas Wentworth having, in this parliament, and upon other occaſions, given ſeveral proofs of his zeal for the maintenance of the liberties of the people and the privileges of the parliament, became formidable to the court, though he took care not to run into any exceſs with regard to the king and his miniſtry. On the contrary, he ſoftened his opinions by always ſpeaking honourably and reſpectfully of the king; but, however he ſeldom failed to oppoſe the pretenſions of the court.

As he was one of the greateſt genius's then in England, the king could not but be ſenſible that his parts and capacity might be highly ſerviceable to him if he could gain him to his ſide. He endeavoured it therefore after, or perhaps before, the diſſolution of the parliament, and ſucceeded ſo well

well that Wentworth became one of the greateſt ſticklers for the royal authority, or rather for the deſpotic power the king had a mind to introduce.

Upon this account the king thought him the fitteſt perſon to be entruſted with the preſidentſhip of the council in the north. He was at the ſame time created baron Wentworth, of Wentworth-wood-houſe; and, on the tenth of December following, viſcount Wentworth of the ſame place, and was made one of the privy-council; in all which truſts he acquitted himſelf much to the ſatisfaction of his prince, whoſe revenue he greatly improved.

His next ſtep of preferment was to be lord-deputy of Ireland, where he preferred learned and pious men who were attached to epiſcopacy. He moreover raiſed eight regiments for the king's ſervice, each conſiſting of one thouſand men; but before he had diſpoſed theſe forces into neceſſary quarters, he was recalled to England, and made lieutenant-general to the earl of Northumberland, who commanded the army which was going to be employed againſt the Scots, who had then invaded the kingdom.

On the twelfth of January, 15 Charles I. he was created baron of Raby, and earl of Strafford; and was alſo made knight of the garter, on the twelfth of September, 1640; but things not ſucceeding well in Ireland under ſir Chriſtopher Wandeſworth, maſter of the rolls there, whom he had left deputy in his room; and the parliament of England by this time entering into ſecret engagements with the Scots, the earl of Strafford's ruin was brought about not long after.

He was conſidered as one of the principal authors of the very great grievances, becauſe he had ſo entirely devoted himſelf to the king, that, in

his

his two great offices of preſident of the court of York, and lord-lieutenant of Ireland, he had no other view but to ſtretch the prerogative royal, and increaſe the king's revenues. His proud and haughty carriage had given no leſs offence to the public than his actions, whereby he ſtrove to eſtabliſh an arbitrary power. He was therefore the firſt among thoſe who paſſed for the authors of the grievances upon whom the ſtorm fell.

On the eleventh of November, eight days after the opening of the parliament, Mr. Pym having deſired and obtained his deſire of the commons, that the doors of the houſe might be locked, and the outward room cleared of ſtrangers, informed them, that there were ſeveral complaints againſt the earl of Strafford, which gave juſt grounds to accuſe him of high-treaſon. The houſe having received this information, immediately appointed a committee of ſeven, who withdrawing into another room and conferring together, reported ſhortly after, that it was their opinion, there was juſt cauſe to impeach the earl of Strafford.

Then Mr. Pym was ordered to go to the houſe of lords, and accuſe the earl of high-treaſon, in the name of the commons. He had orders alſo to tell the lords, that the commons would, in due time, produce the articles of accuſation, and deſired that the accuſed might till then be put in ſafe cuſtody.

The earl of Strafford had that very day quitted the army, and taken his place in the houſe of lords. He had been apprized before he left the army that a deſign was formed to attack him: but whether through pride, or a perſuaſion that, having done nothing without the king's authority, he was ſecure, he ſlighted the advice, and would be preſent in the parliament. Indeed, ſome months before,

before, the king's protection was more than ſufficient to ſcreen him from all danger; but the face of affairs was changed, and it ſeems ſurpriſing that a perſon of ſo excellent an underſtanding could imagine that the king was able to protect him at ſuch a juncture.

No ſooner had the commons impeached the earl, but the lords committed him to the cuſtody of the black-rod, and ſome days after ſent him to the Tower. The proceſs againſt the earl could not be ready to be tried till the twenty-ſecond of March, 1640-1. The trial laſted till the twelfth of April, and then the commons, who had been preſent all the while, perceiving doubtleſs that the ſentence would not prove as rigorous as they deſired, reſolved to proceed againſt the earl by way of bill of attainder.

They voted therefore, on the ſixteenth and nineteenth of April, that it was ſufficiently proved, that the earl of Strafford had endeavoured to ſubvert the fundamental laws of the kingdom, and introduce an arbitrary and tyrannical government into the realms of England and Ireland, and that conſequently he was guilty of high-treaſon. On the twenty-firſt of the ſame month, the bill of attainder was paſſed, there being two hundred and four for it, and fifty-nine againſt it.

The bill met with ſo great oppoſition in the houſe of peers, that it was very doubtful whether it would be paſſed or thrown out; for which reaſon, on the twenty-fourth, was preſented to both houſes a petition, ſubſcribed by above forty thouſand inhabitants of London, ſetting forth the cauſes of their ſuſpicions and fears: and, amongſt others, that juſtice was not yet executed upon the earl of Strafford; and that there was reaſon to dread ſome ſecret plot againſt the parliament.

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The twenty-eighth of April, the commons ſent a meſſage to the lords, that they had received information, that the earl of Strafford had a deſign to make an eſcape out of the Tower; that the guard about him was weak, and therefore deſired he might be kept cloſe priſoner, and his guards ſtrengthened; to which the lords conſented.

The firſt of May the king came to the parliament, and, in a ſpeech to both houſes, ſaid, That, having been preſent at the trial of the earl of Strafford, he could not in conſcience condemn him of high-treaſon, though he thought him guilty of miſdemeanours: therefore he deſired the lords to find ſome way to bring him out of this great ſtreight.

The commons were very much troubled an diſcontented with this ſpeech, and directly adjourned till the third of May; on which day a great multitude at Weſtminſter inſulted and threatened the lords, as they were going to the houſe, crying out juſtice! juſtice!

It was no eaſy matter for the lords to avoid doing what the commons deſired. In the firſt place, they had inſpired the nation with ſuch a terror, that no one durſt oppoſe their reſolutions, for fear of being thought to have ill deſigns, and expoſed to inevitable ruin. Secondly, the people ſtill continued to flock about Weſtminſter, and openly threatened the lords. Thirdly, the multitude preſented the ſame day a petition to the lords, demanding juſtice againſt the earl of Strafford, and that their lordſhips would pleaſe to free them from the fear of a conſpiracy. Fourthly, on the morrow, being the fourth of May, the people getting together again at Weſtminſter in greater numbers than the day before, ſome incendiaries paſted up againſt a wall in the old palace yard, the names of

fifty-ſix

fifty-ſix members, and called them Straffordians, and betrayers of their country. Laſtly, the ſame day the multitude preſented to the lords another petition, ſaying that they underſtood the Tower was going to receive a garriſon of men, not of the hamlets, as uſually, but conſiſting of other perſons under the command of a captain, a great confident of the earl of Strafford's, which was done to make way for the earl's eſcape.

Upon this petition, the houſe ſent ſix peers to go and examine ſir William Balfour, lieutenant of the Tower, about the truth of the matter. Balfour anſwered it was true he had his majeſty's order to receive one hundred men into the Tower, and captain Billingſly to command them, and to receive only ſuch men as the captain ſhould bring to him; but underſtanding now their lordſhip's pleaſure, he would receive no other guard into the Tower but the hamlet-men.

The lords further declared, at a conference with the commons, that they were drawing to a concluſion of the bill of attainder, but were ſo encompaſſed with multitudes of people, that they might be conceived not to be free; and therefore deſired the commons to join with them, to find out ſome way to ſend the people to their homes. Then they debated the proteſtation which had before been drawn up in order to be ſigned by all the members; the purport of which was, that each member ſhould do all that lay in his power to defend the religion of the church of England, and the priviledges of parliament; and ſhould do all in his power to bring to condign puniſhment all that by force or conſpiracy ſhould do any thing againſt either.

This proteſtation being paſſed, and taken by four hundred and thirty-three commoners, and one

one hundred and ſix lords, including the biſhops and judges, the commons ordered Dr. Burgeſs to acquaint the multitude with the proteſtation taken by both houſes, and that they were deſired to retire to their houſes. The multitude having received this information, departed.

Twenty-eight articles were exhibited againſt the earl of Strafford, which tended to prove, in general, that he had endeavoured to ſubvert the fundamental laws of the ſtate, and ſet up an arbitrary power: ſo, though each of the pretended crimes of which he was accuſed, could not be accounted high-treaſon, the houſe would have it, that altogether manifeſtly ſhewed the end he drove at, and the means he had employed to attain it.

The parliament of Ireland was no ſooner informed that the earl of Strafford was in the Tower, but they ſent a committee of both houſes to England, to lay before the parliament remonſtrances concerning the grievances the Iriſh endured under that lord's adminiſtration. Theſe remonſtrances contained the very ſame charge aſſerted in the twenty-eight articles exhibited againſt him by the parliament of England.

The proceſs was not ready to be judged till the twenty-ſecond of March, 1640-1, and laſted till the twelfth of April. It would be too long-winded a work to give a particular account of the proofs, depoſitions of evidences, anſwers of the party accuſed upon each article, and replies of the commons. To give a general idea of the thing, it will ſuffice to ſay, in two words, that the impeachment running wholly upon the earl of Strafford's pretended intention to ſubvert the fundamental laws of the kingdom, the greateſt part of the crimes he was accuſed of, could not be accounted

crimes

crimes of high-treaſon, but on ſuppoſition of this ſame intention; and therefore the managers of the proſecution inſiſted upon every one of the articles in order to prove this intention; maintaining that, though each of them was not capable of proving it, they were, however, all together, a demonſtration of the ſame: but, beſides that each of theſe articles was not equally well proved, it remained alſo to decide, whether the intention could render a man guilty of treaſon. The council for the earl of Strafford maintained that, although by the law the bare intention of killing the king was high treaſon; it did not follow that the intention could be conſidered in the ſame light, with reſpect to other kinds of treaſon, on which the law had not decided in the ſame manner. On the other hand, the earl of Strafford ſhewed, that none of the particular crimes he was charged with, could be deemed treaſon, and that an hundred felonies could never make one treaſonable crime.

It is acknowledged that the earl of Strafford defended himſelf with all the ability, preſence of mind, judgment and temper that could be expected from a perſon of his parts: ſo the commons eaſily found that the lords would very hardly be brought to condemn him; and therefore they thought fit to take another courſe to attain their ends.

The nineteenth of April it was voted by the commons, that the endeavour of the earl of Strafford to ſubvert the fundamental laws of the realms of England and Ireland, and to introduce an arbitrary and tyrannical government in both thoſe kingdoms, was high-treaſon. Two days after a bill of attainder was brought in againſt the earl. The bill was read twice in the morning, and the third time in the afternoon; and paſſed with the majority

majority of two hundred and four againſt fifty-nine; after which it was ſent up to the lords.

Among the oppoſers of the bill, the lord Digby diſtinguiſhed himſelf by a very eloquent ſpeech, wherein he endeavoured to ſhew, that the condemning the earl of Strafford in that manner was a downright murder. Great exceptions were taken at this ſpeech, and, though the houſe did not ſeem to take much notice of it at firſt, they ordered afterwards that it ſhould be burned by the common hangman.

The bill of attainder had not preſently the effect the commons wiſhed: the lords were in no haſte to examine it, or to anſwer the impatience of the commons. They had a mind firſt to weigh arguments for and againſt the bill.

In this interval it was that the peers cauſed ſir William Balfour to be examined concerning the project of letting the earl of Strafford eſcape. Several thouſands of inhabitants of London preſented to both houſes a petition againſt the earl, ſaying he was a ſworn enemy of the city. The twenty-eighth of April, Mr. St. John made a ſpeech to the lords to prove that the bill of attainder was not contrary to law,

On the firſt of May the king came to the parliament, and made the following ſpeech to both houſes:

My Lords,

"I HAD not any intention to have ſpoken to "you of this buſineſs this day, which is the great "buſineſs of the earl of Strafford, becauſe I "would do nothing that might ſerve to hinder "your occaſions: but now it comes to paſs, that,

"ſeeing

" ſeeing of neceſſity I muſt have part in the " judgment, I think it moſt neceſſary for me to " declare my conſcience therein. I am ſure you " all know that I have been preſent at the hearing " of this great caſe, from the one end to the other; " and I muſt tell you, that I cannot condemn " him of high-treaſon; it is not fit for me to " argue the buſineſs; I am ſure you will not ex- " pect that; a poſitive doctrine beſt becomes the " mouth of a prince; yet I muſt tell you three " great truths, which I am ſure nobody knows ſo " well as myſelf.

" Firſt, That I had never any intention of " bringing over the Iriſh army into England; nor " ever was adviſed by any body ſo to do. Se- " condly, That there was never any debate before " me, neither in public council nor at private " committee, of the diſloyalty of my Engliſh ſub- " jects; nor ever had I any ſuſpicion of them. " Thirdly, I was never councelled by any one to " alter the leaſt of any of the laws of England, " much leſs to alter all the laws. Nay, I muſt " tell you this, I think no body durſt ever be ſo " impudent to move me in it; for if they had, I " ſhould have put ſuch a mark upon them, and " made them ſuch an example, that all poſterity " ſhould know my intentions by it; for my inten- " tion was ever to govern according to law, and " no otherwiſe.

" I deſire to be rightly underſtood. I told you " in my conſcience, I cannot condemn him of " high-treaſon; yet I cannot ſay I can clear him " of miſdemeanours; therefore I hope you may " find a way to ſatisfy juſtice and your own fears, " and not preſs upon my conſcience: yet I muſt " declare unto you, that to ſatisfy my people I " would do great matters; but this of conſcience,

" no fear, no reſpect whatever, ſhall ever make me
" go againſt it. Certainly I have not ſo ill deſerved
" of the parliament at this time, that they ſhould
" preſs me in this tender point, and therefore I
" cannot expect that you will go about it. Nay,
" I muſt confeſs, for matters of miſdemeanours, I
" am ſo clear in that, that, though I will not chalk
" out the way, yet, let me tell you, that I do
" think my lord Strafford is not fit hereafter to
" ſerve me or the commonwealth, in any place of
" truſt; no, not ſo much as that of a conſtable:
" therefore I leave it to you, my lords, to find
" ſome ſuch way as may bring me out of this great
" ſtreight, and keep ourſelves and the kingdom
" from ſuch great inconveniences. Certainly he
" that thinks him guilty of high-treaſon, in his con-
" ſcience may condemn him of miſdemeanours.

This ſpeech had an effect quite oppoſite to the king's intention. The earl of Clarendon inſinuates that the lord Say adviſed the king to it, in order to draw him into a ſnare, and render the earl of Strafford's ruin more certain.

Dr. Welwood informs us, in his memoirs, that, when Strafford was told, by his overjoyed friends, that the king had made a warm ſpeech in his favour to both houſes, he received it as his doom; and told them, the king's kindneſs had ruined him, and that he had little elſe to do, but to prepare himſelf for death.

Certain it is, that the commons were highly offended with the king's ſpeech, ſaying, it was an unprecedented thing, that he ſhould meddle with bills before they were preſented to him, and that it had a tendency to take away the freedom of votes. Upon this they adjourned till Monday the third of May.

The

The bill of attainder againſt the earl of Straf-ford being paſſed by both houſes, the king was in the greateſt agitation and perplexity imaginable. He loved the earl, and was convinced that he had done nothing but what was conformable to his intentions and the maxims he would have introduced into the government. He might be guilty with regard to the people upon many accounts, but certainly he was not ſo with reſpect to the king, who had always approved of his conduct: beſides, the king had proteſted in full parliament, that he could not, nor would, do any thing againſt his conſcience, and he did not believe in his conſcience that the earl was guilty. On the other hand, if he conſented to the bill of attainder, after having declared that it was againſt his conſcience, he would ſhew that he was reduced to this extremity by the neceſſity of his affairs, ſo would not be thanked for it, and for the time to come would be able to refuſe his parliament nothing: but, if he rejected the bill, he plainly perceived the conſe-quences his refuſal might be attended with, and that, at leaſt, he ſhould be accuſed of denying his people juſtice, contrary to the advice of both houſes of parliament.

It ſeems probable that, in this extremity, ſome one adviſed the king to diſſolve the parliament; at leaſt the commons imagined he had no other expe-dient left to extricate himſelf from the difficulty he was involved in; and therefore, to deprive him of this refuge, the ſame day, the fourth of May, they ordered the bringing in of a bill for the con-tinuance of the preſent parliament, that it might not be diſſolved without the conſent of both houſes.

The bill of attainder being paſſed, the king called his privy-council together, and ſent for his lawyers. He laid before them his ſcruples, and

the reaſons which ought to prevent him from giving his conſent to the bill: but Juxon, biſhop of London, was the only perſon that ventured to adviſe the king to reject a bill preſented to him by both houſes. All the reſt did their utmoſt to perſuade him to ſatisfy his people, alledging that the life of any perſon ought not to be put in the ballance with the ſafety of the kingdom. With regard to his ſcruples, they told him, that he might conſult his biſhops, who would give him the beſt advice.

The king, not meeting with the ſatisfaction he expected from his council, ſent for ſome biſhops to adviſe with. It is affirmed that Neile, archbiſhop of York, ſaid to him upon this occaſion, that there was a private and a public conſcience; that his public conſcience, as a king, might not only diſpenſe with, but oblige him to do that which was againſt his private conſcience as a man; and ſo, in plain terms adviſed him, even for conſcience ſake, to paſs the act.

But what helped the moſt to determine him, was a letter from Strafford himſelf, who hearing the ſtreights the king was in, humbly beſought him to paſs the bill, to remove him out of the way, towards a bleſſed agreement, which he doubted not God would for ever eſtabliſh between him and his ſubjects: adding, that his conſent would more acquit his majeſty to God than all the world could do beſides. To a willing man there is no injury. At leaſt the king, no longer able to withſtand the preſſing inſtances of the parliament and his own counſellors, or rather the fear of the calamities he foreſaw might befall him and his poſterity, if he refuſed to conſent to the bill, ſigned a commiſſion to three lords to paſs it in his name.

Notwith-

Notwithſtanding the earl of Strafford's letter abovementioned, when the king ſent ſecretary Carleton to him to acquaint him with what was done, and the motives of it, the earl ſeriouſly aſked the ſecretary, whether his majeſty had paſſed the bill or not; as not believing, without ſome aſtoniſhment, that the king would have done it: and being again aſſured that it was paſſed, he roſe from his chair, lift up his eyes to heaven, laid his hand on his heart, and ſaid, put not your truſt in princes, nor in any of the ſons of men, for there is no help in them.

An unwilling aſſent being extorted from the king for the earl of Strafford's execution, he was beheaded on Tower-hill on the twelfth of May, 1641, and ſuffered death with the greateſt conſtancy and reſolution,

Thus fell that illuſtrious perſonage; the greateſt ſubject in power, not leſs in wiſdom, and little leſs in fortune, at that time in the three kingdoms.

The following ſpeech was delivered by the earl to the lord-primate of Ireland, and other lords, at the place of execution.

" My L. Primate of Ireland,

" IT is my very great comfort that I have your lordſhip by me this day, in regard I have been known to you theſe many years, and I do thank God and your lordſhip for it that you are here: I ſhould be very glad to obtain ſo much ſilence as to be heard a few words; but I doubt I ſhall not, the noiſe is ſo great.

" My lords, I am come hither by the good will and pleaſure of almighty God, to pay that laſt debt I owe to ſin, which is death; and, by the

bleſſing of that God, to riſe again, through the merits of Jeſus Chriſt, to righteouſneſs and life eternal."------Here he was a little interrupted.

" My lords, I am come hither to ſubmit to that judgment which hath paſſed againſt me. I do it with a very quiet and contented mind: I thank God, I do freely forgive all the world; a forgiveneſs that is not ſpoken from the teeth outwards, as they ſay, but from the very heart: I ſpeak it in the preſence of almighty God, before whom I ſtand, that there is not a diſpleaſing thought ariſing in me towards any man living. I thank God I can ſay it, and truly too, my conſcience bearing me witneſs, that in all my employment, ſince I had the honour to ſerve his majeſty, I never had any thing in the purpoſe of my heart, but what tended to the joint and individual proſperity of king and people; although it hath been my ill fortune to be miſconſtrued.

" I am not the firſt that hath ſuffered in this kind; it is the common portion of us all, while we are in this life, to err; righteous judgment we muſt wait for in another place, for here we are very ſubject to be miſ-judged one of another.

" There is one thing that I deſire to free myſelf of, and I am very confident, ſpeaking it now with ſo much chearfulneſs, that I ſhall obtain your Chriſtian charity in belief of it; I was ſo far from being againſt parliaments, that I did always think the parliaments of England were the moſt happy conſtitutions that any kingdom or nation lived under, and the beſt means under God to make the king and people happy.

" For my death, I here acquit all the world, and beſeech the God of heaven heartily to forgive them that contrived it; though in the intentions and purpoſes of my heart, I am not guilty of what

I die

I die for: and, my lord-primate, it is a great comfort for me that his majeſty conceives me not meriting ſo ſevere and heavy a puniſhment as is the utmoſt execution of this ſentence. I do infinitely rejoice in this mercy of his, and I beſeech God to return it into his own boſom, that he may find mercy when he ſtands moſt in need of it.

" I wiſh this kingdom all the proſperity and happineſs in the world; I did it living, and now dying it is my wiſh. I do moſt humbly recommend this to every one who hears me, and deſire they would lay their hands upon their hearts, and conſider ſeriouſly whether the beginning of the happineſs and reformation of a kingdom ſhould be written in letters of blood. Conſider this when at your homes, and let me never be ſo unhappy as, that the leaſt drop of my blood ſhould riſe up in judgment againſt any one of you, but I fear you are in a wrong way.

" My lords, I have but one word more, and with that I ſhall end. I profeſs that I die a true and obedient ſon to the church of England, wherein I was born and in which I was bred. Peace and proſperity be ever to it.

" It hath been objected, if it were an objection worth the anſwering) that I have been inclined to popery; but I ſay truly from my heart, that, from the time I was one and twenty years of age to this preſent, going now upon forty-nine, I never had in my heart to doubt this religion of the church of England: nor ever had any man the boldneſs to ſuggeſt any ſuch thing to me, to the beſt of my remembrance; and ſo being reconciled by the merits of Jeſus Chriſt my Saviour, into whoſe boſom I hope I ſhall ſhortly be gathered, to thoſe eternal happineſſes which ſhall never have end. I deſire heartily the forgiveneſs of every man, for any

raſh or unadviſed words, or any thing done amiſs; and ſo, my lords and gentlemen, farewell; farewell all the things of this world.

"I deſire that you would be ſilent, and join with me in prayer, and I truſt in God we ſhall all meet and live eternally in heaven; there to receive the accompliſhment of all happineſs, where every tear wall be wiped away from our eyes, and every ſad thought from our hearts; and ſo God bleſs this kingdom, and Jeſus have mercy on my ſoul."

Then turning himſelf about, he ſaluted all the noblemen, and took a ſolemn leave of all conſiderable perſons upon the ſcaffold, giving them his hand.

After that he ſaid, "Gentlemen, I would ſay my prayers, and entreat you all to pray with me and for me." Then his chaplain laid the book of Common-prayer upon the chair before him, as he kneeled down, on which he prayed almoſt a quarter of an hour, and then as long, or longer, without the book, and concluded with the Lord's prayer.

Standing up, he eſpies his brother, ſir George Wentworth, and calls to him, ſaying, "Brother, we muſt part; remember me to my ſiſter, and to my wife; and carry my bleſſing to my ſon, and charge him, that he fear God, and continue an obedient ſon to the church of England; and warn him, that he bears no private grudge, or revenge, toward any man concerning me; and bid him beware that he meddle not with church-livings, for that will prove a moth and canker to him in his eſtate. and wiſh him to content himſelf to be a ſervant to his country, not aiming at higher preferments."

Aliter.] To his ſon Mr. Wentworth he commends himſelf, and gives him charge to ſerve his God,

God, to ſubmit to his king with all faith and allegiance in things temporal, to the church in things ſpiritual, chargeth him again and again, as he will anſwer it to him in heaven, never to meddle with the patrimony of the church; for if he did, it would be a canker to eat up the reſt of his eſtate.

"Carry my bleſſing alſo to my daughter Anne, and Arabella; charge them to ſerve and fear God, and he will bleſs them; not forgetting my little infant, who yet knows neither good nor evil, and cannot ſpeak for itſelf; God ſpeak for it, and bleſs it.

"Now," ſaid he, "I have nigh done; one ſtroke will make my wife huſbandleſs, my dear children fatherleſs, and my poor ſervants maſterleſs, and will ſeparate me from my dear brother and all my friends: but let God be to you and them all in all."

After this, going to take off his doublet, and to make himſelf ready, he ſaid, "I thank God I am not afraid of death, nor daunted with any diſcouragement riſing from any fears, but do as chearfully put off my doublet at this time, as ever I did when I went to bed. Then he put off his doublet, wound up his hair with his hands, and put on a white cap.

Then he called, "Where is the man that is to do this laſt office?" meaning the executioner. "Call him to me." When he came, and aſked him forgiveneſs, he told him he forgave him and all the world. Then kneeling down by the block, he went to prayer again himſelf, the primate of Ireland kneeling on one ſide, and the miniſter on the other: to the which miniſter, after prayer, he turned himſelf, and ſpoke ſome few words ſoftly, having his hands lifted up, and cloſed with the miniſter's hands.

Then

Then bowing himſelf to lay his head upon the block, he told the executioner that he would firſt lay down his head to try the fitneſs of the block, and take it up again, before he would lay it down for good and all; and ſo he did: and before he laid it down again, he told the executioner that he would give him warning when to ſtrike by ſtretching forth his hands; and preſently laying down his neck upon the block, and ſtretching forth his hands, the executioner ſtruck off his head at one blow; and taking it up in his hands ſhewed it to all the people, and ſaid, "God ſave the king."

His body was afterwards embalmed, and appointed to be carried into Yorkſhire, there to be buried with his anceſtors.

THE

THE LIFE AND DEATH OF WILLIAM LAUD.

WILLIAM LAUD, archbiſhop of Canterbury, in the ſixteenth century, was ſon of William Laud, a clothier, of Reading, in Berkſhire, by Lucia, his wife, widow of Mr. John Robinſon of Reading, and ſiſter of ſir William Webb, lord-mayor of London in 1591.

He was born at Reading, October the ſeventh, 1573, and educated in the free-ſchool there; and, in July, 1589, went to Oxford; and in June, the year following, was elected ſcholar of St. John's College there, under the tuition of Dr. John Buckeridge.

In June, 1593, he was made a fellow of that college; and on the firſt of July, in the year following, took the degree of batchelor of arts; and, on June the twenty-ſixth, 1598, that of maſter of arts, being grammar reader that year. January the fourth, 1600, he was ordained deacon; and on April the fifth, 1601, prieſt: both which orders were conferred upon him by Dr. Young, biſhop of Rocheſter.

In 1602, he read a divinity lecture in St. John's College, which was maintained by Mrs. Mag. May the fourth, 1603, he was choſen proctor of the univerſity of Oxford; and September the third following was made chaplain to Charles Blound, earl of

of Devonſhire. July the ſixth, 1604, he took the degree of batchelor of divinity.

December the twenty-ſixth, 1605, he married the earl of Devonſhire to Penelope, then wife of Robert, lord Rich; which action afterwards gave him the moſt ſenſible regret.

October the twenty-firſt, 1606, he preached a ſermon at St. Mary's at Oxford, for which he was queſtioned by Dr. Airay, the vice-chancellor. November the thirteenth, 1607, he was inducted into the vicarage of Stanford, in Northamptonſhire; and in April, the year following, was made chaplain to Dr. Richard Neile, then biſhop of Rocheſter. September the ſeventeenth, 1609, he preached his firſt ſermon before the king at Theobald's; and in October following, exchanged his advowſon of North-Kilworth, for the rectory of Weſt-Tilbury in Eſſex, in order to be near his patron biſhop Neile, who, in May, 1610, gave him the rectory of Cuckſtone, in Kent. October the ſecond following, he reſigned his fellowſhip of St. John's College in Oxford.

Finding the air of Cuckſtone prejudicial to him, he exchanged it for the living of Norton; into which he was inducted in November, 1610, by proxy.

About Chriſtmas, the ſame year, the lord-chancellor Elleſmere complained againſt him to the king at the inſtigation of Dr. Abbot, archbiſhop elect. May the tenth, 1611, he was elected preſident of St. John's College; but his election being called in queſtion, it was at laſt confirmed by his majeſty. The ſame year, on the third of November, he was ſworn the king's chaplain. April the eighteenth, 1614, Dr. Neile, then biſhop of Lincoln, gave him the prebend of Bugden; and, December the firſt, 1615, conferred upon him the

arch-

archdeaconry of Huntingdon. In November, 1616, he was advanced by his majeſty to the deanery of Glouceſter, and attended him towards Scotland, from whence he returned a little before him in 1617.

He reſigned his living of Weſt-Tilbury, and was inducted into that of Ibſtock, in Leiceſterſhire, on the ſecond of Auguſt, 1617. January the twenty-ſecond, 1620, he was inſtalled prebendary of Weſtminſter, having had the advowſon of it ten years the November before. June the twenty-ninth, 1621, the king gave him the grant of the biſhopric of St. David's; to which ſee he was choſen on the tenth of October following, and reſigned the preſidentſhip of St. John's College on the ſeventeeth of November.

Shortly after, he contracted an intimacy with George Villars, then marquis of Buckingham; before whom, and the counteſs his mother, he had a conference with Fiſher the jeſuit, which confirmed their attachment to the proteſtant religion. January the twenty-firſt, 1622-3, he was inducted into the rectory of Creeke, in Northamptonſhire, which he held in commendam with his biſhopric.

In October, 1623, he incurred the diſpleaſure of Dr. John Williams, biſhop of Lincoln, then lord keeper of the great ſeal. April the ſeventeenth, 1623, he became deputy-clerk of the cloſet to king Charles I. for Dr. Neile, then biſhop of Durham, who was indiſpoſed, and executed that office till the firſt of May following.

February the ſecond, 1625-6, he officiated at the coronation of his majeſty, as dean of Weſtminſter; the king having commanded biſhop Williams, the dean of that church, not to be preſent at that ceremony. June the twentieth, 1626, he

he was nominated to the ſee of Bath and Wells; to which he was elected on the ſixteenth of Auguſt. In the beginning of October, the ſame year, he was made dean of the royal chapel; and April the twenty-ninth, 1627, was made privy-counſellor to his majeſty.

On the fifteenth of July, 1628, he was tranſlated to the biſhopric of London; and, about this time, his antient acquaintance, ſir James Whitelocke, a judge, uſed to ſay of him, that he was too full of fire, though a juſt and good man; and, that his want of experience in ſtate-matters, and his too much zeal for the church, and heat, if he proceeded in the way he was then in, would ſet this nation on fire.

April the twelfth, 1630, he was elected chancellor of the univerſity of Oxford. In May, 1633, he attended the king into Scotland; and, June the fifteenth, was ſworn counſellor of that kingdom. Auguſt the fourth, the ſame year, upon the death of archbiſhop Abbot, the king reſolved to advance him to the ſee of Canterbury.

The ſame morning a perſon came to him, and offered him to be a cardinal. This offer he rejected, ſaying, that ſomething dwelt within him which would not ſuffer that, till Rome was other than it was.

September the nineteenth, he was tranſlated to the archbiſhopric of Canterbury. May the thirteenth, he received the ſeals of his being choſen chancellor of the univerſity of Dublin in Ireland, to which office he had been elected on the fourteenth of September, 1633. March the fourteenth, 1634-5, he was named one of the commiſſioners of the Exchequer, upon the death of Waſton, lord high-treaſurer of England. March the ſixth, 1635-6, he procured the ſtaff of lord-high-

high-treaſurer of England for Dr, William Juxon, biſhop of London. June the fourteenth, 1637, he made a ſpeech in the Star-chamber at the cenſure of Dr. John Baſtwick, Henry Burton, B. D. and William Prynne, eſq.

In October following, he fell under the diſpleaſure of her majeſty, for complaining of the increaſe and behaviour of the catholic party. In the beginning of the long parliament, he was attacked on account of the canons made by the convocation in May, 1640; whereupon he wrote a letter to Mr. Selden, dated November the twenty-ninth, 1640.

December the ſixteenth, theſe canons were condemned by the houſe of commons, as containing in them things contrary to the king's prerogative, to the fundamental laws and ſtatutes of this realm, to the rights of parliament, to the property and liberty of the ſubject, and tending to ſedition and dangerous conſequence.

December the eighteenth, he was accuſed by the commons of high-treaſon; upon which he was committed to the cuſtody of the uſher of the black rod, and on the firſt of March to the Tower.

On the twelfth of March, 1643-4, he was brought to his trial, which laſted for twenty days, till the 29th of July; and, on the twenty-firſt of September, he made his recapitulation. November the thirteenth, a bill of attainder of him paſſed the houſe of commons; and January the ſixth, 1644-5, it paſſed the houſe of lords.

He was beheaded on Tower-hill, on Friday, January the tenth, aged ſeventy-one years, thirteen weeks, and four days; and his body was interred in the chancel of the church of Alhallows, Barkin; from whence, in July, 1663, it was removed

moved to Oxford, and depoſited in the chapel of St. John's College.

He compoſed ſeveral pieces beſides his anſwer to Fiſher.

" He was of low ſtature," ſays Dr. Heylin, " but of a ſtrong compoſition; his countenance " chearful and ruddy; which chearfulneſs and vi- " vacity he carried with him to the very block; " notwithſtanding the afflictions of four years im- " priſonment. Of apprehenſion he was quick " and ſudden; of a very ſociable wit and pleaſant " humour; and one that knew as well how to " put off the gravity of his place and perſon, when " he ſaw occaſion, as any man living."

The following is an authentic relation of the archbiſhop's ſpeech on the ſcaffold, and other circumſtances attending his execution.

" Good People,

" THIS is an uncomfortable time to preach, yet I ſhall begin with a text of ſcripture, Heb. xii. 2, Let us run with patience that race which is ſet before us, looking unto Jeſus, the author and finiſher of our faith, who, for the joy that was ſet before him, endured the croſs, deſpiſing the ſhame, and is ſet down at the right hand of the throne of God.

" I have been long in my race, and how I have looked to Jeſus, the author and finiſher of my faith, he beſt knows. I am now come to the end of my race, and here I find the croſs, a death of ſhame; but the ſhame muſt be deſpiſed, or no coming to the right hand of God. Jeſus deſpiſed the ſhame for me, and God forbid but I ſhould deſpiſe

deſpiſe the ſhame for him. I am going apace, as you ſee, towards the red ſea; and my feet are now upon the very brink of it; an argument, I hope, that God is bringing me into the Land of Promiſe; for that was the way through which he led his people: but before they came to it, he inſtituted a paſſover for them; a lamb it was, but it muſt be eaten with ſower herbs. I ſhall obey, and labour to digeſt the ſower herbs as well as the lamb: and I ſhall remember it in the Lord's paſſover; I ſhall not think of the herbs, nor be angry with the hand which gathereth them; but look up only to him who inſtituted that, and governs theſe; for men can have no more power over me than what is given them from above. I am not in love with this paſſage through the Red-Sea, for I have the weakneſs and infirmities of fleſh and blood plentifully in me: and I have prayed with my Saviour, ut tranſiret calix iſte, that this cup of red wine might paſs from me; but if [redacted] God's will, not mine, be done; and I ſhall moſt willingly drink of this cup as deep as he pleaſes, and enter into this ſea, yea and paſs through it, in the way that he ſhall lead me.

"But I would have it remembered, good people, that when God's ſervants were in this boiſterous ſea, and Aaron among them, the Egyptians which perſecuted them, and did in a manner drive them into that ſea, were drowned in the ſame waters, while they were in purſuit of them: I know my God whom I ſerve, is as able to deliver me from this ſea of blood, as he was to deliver the three children from the furnace; and, I moſt humbly thank my Saviour for it, my reſolution is now as theirs was then: they would not worſhip the image the king had ſet up, nor will I the imaginations which the people are ſetting up; nor will I for-

ſake the temple and the truth of God, to follow the bleating of Jeroboam's calf, in Dan and in Bethel: and, as for this people, they are at this time miſerably miſled (God of his mercy open their eyes that they may ſee the right way) for at this day the blind lead the blind, and, if they go on, both will certainly fall into the ditch.

"For myſelf, I am, and I acknowledge it with all humility, a moſt grievous ſinner many ways, by thought, word and deed; and I cannot doubt but that God hath mercy in ſtore for me, a poor penitent, as well as for other ſinners. I have now, upon this ſad occaſion, ranſacked every corner of my heart, and yet, I thank God, I have not found, among the many, any one ſin which deſerves death by any known law of this kingdom; and yet hereby I charge nothing upon my judges; for if they proceed upon proof by valuable witneſſes, I, or any other innocent, may be juſtly condemned: and I thank God, though the weight of the ſentence lie heavy upon me, I am as quiet within as ever I was in my life: and, though I am not only the firſt archbiſhop, but the firſt man that ever died by an ordinance of parliament, yet ſome of my predeceſſors have gone this way though not by this means; for Elphegus was hurried away, and loſt his head by the Danes; and Simon Sudbury, in the fury of Wat Tyler and his fellows. Before theſe, St. John Baptiſt had his head danced off by a lewd woman; and St. Cyprian, archbiſhop of Carthage, ſubmitted his head to a perſecuting ſword. Many examples, great and good; and they teach me patience: for I hope my cauſe in heaven will look of another dye than the colour that is put upon it here: and ſome comfort it is to me, not only that I go the way of theſe great men in their ſeveral generations, but alſo

that

that my charge, as foul as it is made, looks like that of the Jews againſt St. Paul, Acts xxv. 3; for he was accuſed for the law and the temple; i. e. religion: and like that of St. Stephen, Acts vi. 14, for breaking the ordinances which Moſes gave; i. e. law and religion, the holy place and the temple; verſe 13. But you will ſay, Do I then compare myſelf with the integrity of St. Paul and St. Stephen? No, far be that from me; I only raiſe a comfort to myſelf, that theſe great ſaints and ſervants of God, were laid at in their times as I am now: and it is memorable, that St. Paul, who helped on this accuſation againſt St. Stephen, did after fall under the ſame himſelf. Yea, but here's a great clamour that I would have brought in popery: I ſhall anſwer that more fully by and by. In the mean time you know what the Phariſee ſaid againſt Chriſt himſelf, If we let him alone, all men will believe in him, et vent Romani, and the Romans will come, and take away both our place and the nation. Here was a cauſeleſs cry againſt Chriſt that the Romans will come: and ſee how juſt the judgment of God was. They crucified Chriſt for fear leſt the Romans ſhould come, and his death was it which brought in the Romans upon them, God puniſhing them with that which they moſt feared: and I pray God this clamour of venient Romani, of which I have given no cauſe, help not to bring them in; for the pope never had ſuch a harveſt in England ſince the reformation, as he hath now upon the ſects and diviſions that are amongſt us. In the mean time, by honour and diſhonour, by good report and evil report, as a deceiver and yet true, am I paſſing through this world, 2 Cor. vi. 8. Some particulars alſo I think it not amiſs to ſpeak of.

"And first, this I shall be bold to speak of, The king, our gracious sovereign, he hath been much traduced also for bringing in of popery; but, on my conscience, of which I shall give God a very present account, I know him to be as free from this charge as any man living; and I hold him to be as sound a protestant (according to the relgion by law established) as any man in this kingdom; and that he will venture his life as far and as freely for it; and I think I do, or should, know both his affection to religion, and his grounds for it, as fully as any man in England.

"The second particular is concerning this great and populous city, which God bless. Here hath been of a late a fashion taken up, to gather hands, and then go to the great court of this kingdom, the parliament, and clamour for justice, as if that great and wise court, before whom the causes come, which are unknown to the many, could not, or would not, do justice but at their appointment. A way which may endanger many an innocent man, and pluck his blood upon their own heads, and perhaps upon the citys also: and this hath been practised against myself, the magistrates standing still, and suffering them to proceed from parish to parish without check. God forgive the setters of this, with all my heart I beg it, but many well-meaning people are caught by it. In Saint Stephen's case, when nothing else would serve, they stirred up the people against him; and Herod, when he went the same way, when he had killed Saint James, yet he would not venture upon Saint Peter till he found how the other pleased the people: but take heed of having your hands full of blood, for there is a time (best known to himself) when God, above other sins, makes inquisition

tion for blood; and, when that inquiſition is on foot, the Pſalmiſt tells us, That God remembers (but that is not all) He remembers and forgets not the complaint of the poor; that is, whoſe blood is ſhed by oppreſſion; verſe 9. Take heed of this, 'Tis a fearful thing to fall into the hands of the living God; but then eſpecially, when he is making inquiſition for blood; and, with my prayers to avert it, I do heartily deſire this city to remember the prophecy that is expreſſed, Jer. xxvi. 15.

The third particular is the poor church of England. It hath flouriſhed and been a ſhelter to other neighbouring churches, when ſtorms have driven upon them. But, alas! now 'tis in a ſtorm itſelf, and God only knows whether, or how it ſhall get out; and, which is worſe than a ſtorm from without, it is become like an oak cleft to ſhivers with wedges made out of its own body, and at every cleft prophaneneſs and irreligion is entering in, while, as Proſper ſpeaks (in his ſecond book De Vitæ Contemptu, cap. 4.) Men that introduce prophaneneſs are cloaked over with the name religionis imaginariæ, of imaginary religion: for we have loſt the ſubſtance, and dwell too much in opinion; and that church which all the jeſuits machinations could not ruin, is fallen into danger by her own.

" The laſt particular, for I am not willing to be too long, is myſelf. I was born and baptized in the boſom of the church of England, eſtabliſhed by law. In that profeſſion I have ever ſince lived, and in that I come now to die. This is no time to diſſemble with God, leaſt of all in matter of religion, and therefore I deſire it may be remembered, I have always lived in the proteſtant religion, eſtabliſhed in England, and in that I come

now to die. What clamours and ſlanders I have endured, for labouring to keep all uniformity in the external ſervice of God, according to the doctrine and diſcipline of this church, all men know, and I have abundantly felt.

Now at laſt I am accuſed of high-treaſon in parliament; a crime which my ſoul ever abhorred; this treaſon was charged to conſiſt of theſe two parts; an endeavour to ſubvert the laws of the land, and a like endeavour to overthrow the true proteſtant religion eſtabliſhed by law. Beſides my anſwers to the ſeveral charges, I proteſted my innocency in both houſes. It was ſaid, Priſoners proteſtations at the bar muſt not be taken. I can bring no witneſs of my heart and the intentions thereof, therefore I muſt come to my proteſtation not at the bar, but my proteſtation at this hour and inſtant of my death: in which I hope all men will be ſuch charitable Chriſtians, as not to think I would die and diſſemble, being inſtantly to give God an account of the truth: I do therefore, in the preſence of God, and his holy angles, take it upon my death, That I never endeavoured the ſubverſion either of law or religion; and I deſire you all to remember this proteſt of mine for my innocency, in theſe, and from all treaſons whatſoever. I have been accuſed likewiſe as an enemy to parliaments: no, I underſtand them, and the benefit that comes by them, too well to be ſo: but I did miſlike the miſgovernment of ſome parliaments many ways, and I had good reaſon for it; for corruptio optimi eſt peſſima; there is no corruption in the world ſo bad, as that which is of the beſt thing in itſelf; for the better the thing is in nature, the worſe it is corrupted; and that being the higheſt court, over which no other hath juriſdiction, when 'tis miſ-informed or miſ-governed, the

ſubject

ſubject is left without all remedy. But I have done, I forgive all the world, all and every of thoſe bitter enemies which have perſecuted me, and humbly deſire to be forgiven of God firſt, and then of every man, whether I have offended him or not, if he do but conceive that I have. Lord do thou forgive me, and I beg forgiveneſs of him: and ſo I heartily deſire you to joyn in prayer with me."

The ſpeech and prayers being ended, he gave the paper, which he read unto Dr. Sterne, deſiring him to ſhew it to the other chaplains, that they might know how he departed out of this world, and ſo prayed God to ſhew his mercy and bleſſings on them: and noting how one Hind had employed himſelf in taking a copy of his Speech as it came from his mouth; he deſired him not to do him wrong in publiſhing a falſe or imperfect copy. Which as Hind promiſed him to be careful of, calling for puniſhment from above if he ſhould do otherwiſe; ſo hath he reaſonably well performed his promiſe; the alterations or additions which occur therein, being perhaps the work of thoſe who peruſed his papers, and were to authorize them to the public view, to fit it more unto the palate of the city faction, and make it more conſiſtent with the credit of thoſe guilty men, who had voted to his condemnation.

This done, he next applied himſelf to the fatal block, as to the haven of his reſt: but finding the way full of people, who had placed themſelves upon the theatre to behold the tragedy, he deſired he might have room to die, beſeeching them to let him have an end of his miſeries, which he had endured very long. All which he did with ſo ſerene and calm a mind, as if he had been rather

taking order for another man's funeral, than making way unto his own.

Being come near the block, he put off his doublet, and uſed ſome words to this effect: "God's will be done; I am willing to go out of this world, "no man can be more willing to ſend me out of "it." And ſeeing, through the chinks of the boards, that ſome people were got under the ſcaffold, about the very place where the block was ſeated, he called on the officers for ſome duſt to ſtop them, or to remove the people thence, ſaying it was no part of his deſires, that his blood ſhould fall upon the heads of the people.

Never did man put off mortality with a braver courage, nor look upon his bloody and malicious enemies with more Chriſtian charity.

Thus far he was gone in his way towards Paradiſe, with ſuch a primitive magnanimity as equalled, if not exceeded, the example of ancient martyrs, when he was ſomewhat interrupted in his quiet paſſage by one ſir John Clotworthy, a fire-brand brought from Ireland by the earl of Warwick to increaſe the combuſtions in this kingdom: who, finding that the mockings and revilings of malicious people had no power to move him, or ſharpen him into any diſcontent or ſhew of paſſion, would needs put in, and try what he could do with his ſpunge and vinegar; and ſtepping to him near the block, aſked him, with ſuch a purpoſe as the Scribes and Phariſees uſed to propoſe queſtions to our Lord and Saviour, not to learn by him but to tempt him, or to expoſe him to ſome diſadvantage with the ſtanders by, What was the comfortableſt ſaying which a dying man could have in his mouth. To which he meekly made this anſwer, "Cupio diſſolvi & eſſe cum Chriſto." i. e. "I de-

"ſire

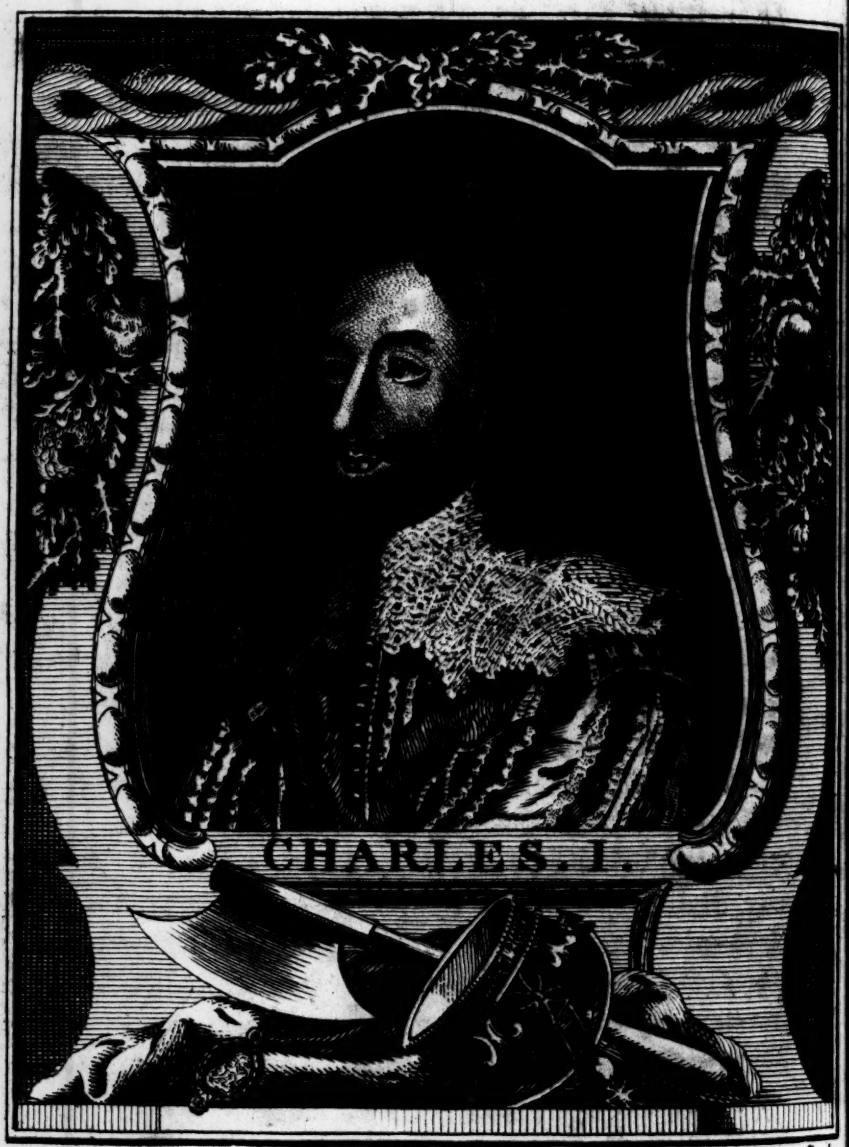
"ſire to be diſſolved and to be with Chriſt. Being aſked again, What was the fitteſt ſpeech a man could uſe, to expreſs his confidence and aſſurance; he anſwered, with the ſame ſpirit of meekneſs, That ſuch aſſurance was to be found within, and that no words were able to expreſs it rightly. Which, when it would not ſatisfy the troubleſome and impertinent man, who aimed at ſomething elſe than ſuch ſatisfaction, unleſs he gave ſome word, or place of ſcripture, whereupon ſuch aſſurance might be truly founded; he uſed ſome words to this effect, that it was the Word of God concerning Chriſt, and his dying for us: and ſo, without expecting any further queſtions, (for he perceived by the manner of ſir John's proceedings, that there would be no end of his interruptions if he harkened any longer to him) he turned towards his executioner (the gentler and diſcreeter man of the two) and gave him money, ſaying, without the leaſt diſtemper or change of countenance, "Here, "honeſt friend, God forgive thee, and do thy "office upon me with mercy;" and having given a ſign when the blow ſhould come, he kneeled down upon his knees, and prayed as followeth.

"LORD, I am coming as faſt as I can; I know I muſt paſs throw the ſhadow of death, before I can come to ſee thee; but it is umbra mortis, a meer ſhadow of death, a little darkneſs upon nature; but Thou, by Thy merits and paſſion, haſt broke through the jaws of death. So, Lord, receive my ſoul, and have mercy upon me, and bleſs this kingdom with peace and plenty, and with brotherly love and charity, that there may not be this effuſion of Chriſtian blood amongſt them, for Jeſus Chriſt's ſake, if it be thy will."

Then

Then laying his head upon the block, and praying ſilently to himſelf, he ſaid aloud, "Lord re-"ceive my ſoul;" which was the ſignal given to the executioner, who very dexterouſly did his office, and took it off at a blow; his ſoul aſcending on the wings of angels into Abraham's boſom, and leaving his body on the ſcaffold to the care of men. A ſpectacle ſo unpleaſing unto moſt of thoſe who had deſired his death with much heat and paſſion, that many who came with greedy eyes to ſee him ſuffer, went back with weeping eyes when they ſaw him dead; their conſciences perhaps bearing witneſs to them, as you know whoſe did, that they had ſinned in being guilty of ſuch innocent blood."

THE



W. Proud, Sculp.

THE

LIFE AND DEATH OF King Charles the First.

CHARLES I. king of Great-Britain, France and Ireland, was the ſon of James IV. king of Scots, and Anne his wife, a daughter of Denmark. By his father deſcended to him all the rights, together with their blood, of all our ancient, both Saxon and Norman kings to this empire. For the lady Margaret, ſiſter and ſole heir of Edgar Atheling, the laſt ſurviving prince of the Engliſh Saxons, being married to Malcolme Conmor, king of Scots, conveyed to his line the Saxon; and Margaret, daughter of Henry VII. married to James IV. brought the Norman titles and blood. From this imperial extract, he received not more honour than he gave to it: for the blood that was derived to him, elaborated through ſo many royal veins, he delivered to poſterity more maturated for glory, and, by a conſtant practice of goodneſs more habituated for virtue.

He was born at Dunfermeling, one of the principal towns of Fife, in Scotland, on the nineteenth of November, 1600; in ſo much weakneſs, that his baptiſm was haſtened without the uſual ceremonies wherewith ſuch royal infants are admitted into the church; Providence ſeeming to conſecrate him to ſufferings from the womb, and to accuſtom him

him to the exchange of the ſtrictures of greatneſs for clouds of tears.

There was no obſervation nor augury made at his birth, concerning the ſequel of his life, or courſe of fortune (which are uſually related of ſuch whoſe lives have different occurrences from thoſe of others in the ſame ſtate. Either the fear of his death made thoſe about him leſs obſervant of any circumſtances which curious minds would have formed into a prediction, he appearing like a ſtar that riſes ſo near the point of his ſetting, that it was thought there would be no time for calculation: or he, being at a diſtance by his birth from the ſucceſſion to the crown (prince Henry then having the firſt hopes) made men leſs ſolicitous to enquire of his future ſtate, on whom, being born to a private condition, the fate of the kingdom did not depend.

But in the third year of his age, when king James was preparing himſelf to remove to the Engliſh throne, a certain laird of the Highlands, though of very great age, came to the court to take his leave of him, whom he found accompanied with all his children. After his addreſs, full of affectionate and ſage advice, to which his gray hairs gave authority, to the king; his next application was to duke Charles, in the year 1602, (for in the ſecond year of his age he was created duke of Albany, marquis of Ormond, earl of Roſs, and baron of Ardmanock) whoſe hands he kiſſed with ſo great an ardency of affection, that he ſeemed forgetful of a ſeparation. The king, to correct his ſuppoſed miſtake, adviſed him to a more preſent obſervance of prince Henry, as the heir of his crown, of whom he had taken little notice. The old laird anſwered that he knew well enough what

he

he did, and that It was this child (who was then in his nurſe's arms) who ſhould convey his name and memory to the ſucceeding ages. This then was conceived dotage, but the event gave it the credit of a prophecy, and confirmed that opinion, That ſome long-experienced ſouls in the world, before their diſlodging, arrive to the height of prophetic ſpirits.

In the year 1603, when he was three years old, he was committed to the care of ſir Robert Cary's lady, as a reward for being the firſt meſſenger of queen Elizabeth's death, whoſe long life had worn the expectation of the Scotiſh nobility into a ſuſpicion, That the lords of England would never acknowledge her to be dead as long as there was any old woman of that nation, that could wear good cloaths, and perſonate the majeſty of a queen.

In the fourth year, 1604, after he had ſtruggled with a fever, he was brought in October to the Engliſh court at Windſor, where, on the ſixth of January following, having the day before been made a knight of the Bath, he was inveſted with the title of duke of York; and in the ſixth year, 1606, was committed to the tuition of Mr. Thomas Murray, a perſon well qualified to that office, tho' a favourer of preſbytery.

Under this tutor, and confined to a retiredneſs by the preſent weakneſs of his body, he was ſo diligent and ſtudious, that he far advanced in all that kind of learning which is neceſſary for a prince; without which, even their natural endowments ſeem rough and unpleaſant in deſpight of the ſplendor of their fortune. His proficiency in letters was ſo eminent, that prince Henry taking notice of it, to put a jeſt upon him, one day put the cap of the archbiſhop-abbot, (who was then, with the prince, and

and the duke, and other of the nobility, waiting in the privy-chamber for the king's coming out) on his brother's head; adding that, if he continued a good boy, and followed his book, he would make him one day archbiſhop of Canterbury: which the child took in ſuch diſdain, that he threw the cap on the ground; and trampled it under his feet with ſo much eagerneſs, that he could hardly be reſtrained. This paſſage was afterwards taken by ſome overcurious as a preſage of the ruin of epiſcopacy by his power: but the event ſhewed it was not ominous to the order, but to the perſon of the archbiſhop, whom in his reign he ſuſpended from the adminiſtration of his office.

In his eleventh year, 1611, he was made knight of the garter; and in the twelfth, prince Henry dying on the ſixth of November, 1612, he ſucceeded him in the dukedom of Cornwal and the regalities thereof: and attended his funeral as chief mourner, on the ſeventh of December.

On the fourteenth of February following, he performed the office of brideman to the princeſs Elizabeth his ſiſter, who on that day was married to Frederick V. prince elector palatine; the gayeties of which day were afterwards attended with many fatal cares and expences.

His childhood was blemiſhed with a ſuppoſed obſtinacy; for the weakneſs of his body inclining him to retirements, and the imperfections of his ſpeech rendering diſcourſe tedious and unpleaſant, he was ſuſpected to be ſomewhat perverſe: but more age and ſtrength fitting him for manlike exerciſes, and the public hopes calling him from his privacies, he delivered the world of ſuch fears: for applying himſelf to action, he grew ſo perfect in vaulting, riding the great horſe, running at the ring, ſhooting in croſs bows, muſkets, and ſometimes

times in great pieces of ordnance, that, if principality had been the reward of excellency in thoſe arts, he would have had a title to the crown this way alſo; being thought the beſt markſman and moſt graceful manager of the great horſe in the three kingdoms. His tenacious humor he left with his retirements, none being more deſirous of good counſel, nor any more obſequious when he found it.

When he was ſixteen years old, on the third of November, 1616, he was created prince of Wales, earl of Cheſter and Flint, the revenues thereof being aſſigned to maintain his court, which was then formed for him: and being advanced in years and ſtate, it was expected that he ſhould no longer retain the modeſty which the ſhades of his privacy had accuſtomed him to, but now appear as the immediate inſtrument of empire, and that by him the favours and honours of the court ſhould be derived to others. But, though Providence had changed all about, yet it had changed nothing without him; and he thought it glory enough to be great without the diminution of others; for he left the adminiſtration of affairs to his father's favourites.

In the year 1618, the evenneſs of his ſpirit was diſcovered in the loſs of his mother, whoſe death (preſaged, as ſome thought, by the comet which appeared on the eighteenth of November before) happened on the ſecond of March, in the ſame year, which he lamented with a juſt meaſure of grief, without any affected ſorrow.

The death of the queen was ſoon after followed with a ſharp ſickneſs of the king, wherein his life ſeeming in danger, the conſequences of his death began to be lamented. Dr. Andrews, then biſhop of Ely, bewailed the ſad condition of the church,

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if God ſhould at that time determine the days of the king; the prince being at that time only converſant with Scotſmen, which made up the greateſt part of his family, and were ill affected to the government and worſhip of the church of England. Of this the king became ſo ſenſible, that he made a vow, If God ſhould pleaſe to reſtore his health, he would ſo inſtruct the prince in the controverſies of religion, as ſhould ſecure his affections to the preſent eſtabliſhment: which he did with ſo much ſucceſs, as he aſſured the chaplains who were to wait on the prince in Spain, that he was able to moderate in any important diſputations, which yet he charged them to decline if poſſible: at which they ſmiling, he earneſtly added, That Charles ſhould manage a point in controverſy with the beſt ſtudied divine of them all.

In his nineteenth year, 1619, on the twenty-fourth of March, which was the anniverſary of king James's coming to the crown of England, he performed a juſting at White-Hall, together with ſeveral of the nobility, wherein he acquitted himſelf with a bravery equal to his dignity; and on the Sunday following, attending his father to the ſermon at St. Paul's Croſs, and to the ſervice in the choir, he ſhewed as much humble devotion there, as he had manifeſtsd princely gallantry in his juſts; admired and applauded by the people for his accompliſhments in the arts both of war and peace: that he could behave himſelf humbly towards his God, and bravely towards his enemy; pleaſed with the vigor of his body, and raviſhed with his generous mind.

In the year 1622, confident in theſe and other proofs of a wiſe conduct, the king, without acquainting his council, ſends the prince into Spain, there to contract a marriage with the infanta; and,

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as a part of the portion, to recover the palatinate which his ſiſter's huſband had loſt, and was by the emperor cantoned to the duke of Bavaria and the king of Spain: and herein he was to combat all the artiſts of ſtate in that court, the practices of that church, and put an iſſue to that treaty wherein the lord Digby, though much converſant in the intrigues of that council, had been long amuſed.

To that place he was to paſs incognito, accompanied only with the marquis of Buckingham, Mr. Endymion Porter, and Mr. Francis Cottington, through France; where, to ſatisfy his curioſity, and ſhew himſelf to love, he attempted and enjoyed a view of the court at Paris, and there received the firſt impreſſion of that excellent princeſs who was by Heaven deſtined to his chaſte embraces. Satisfied with that ſight, no leſſer enjoyments of any pleaſure in that great kingdom, nor vanity of youth, which is hardly curbed when it is allied to power, could tempt his ſtay or a diſcovery of his greatneſs; but, with a ſpeed anſwerable to an active body and mind, he out-ſtripped the French poſts which were ſent to ſtop him, although that king had intelligence of his being within his dominions immediately after their departure from the Louvre.

The certain news of his ſafe arrival at Madrid, drew after him from hence a princely train, and raiſed the cenſures of the world upon the king; as being too forgetful of the inhoſpitality of princes to each other, who, when either deſign, tempeſts, or neceſſity, have driven their rivals in majeſty upon their coaſts without a caution, do not let them part without ſome tribute to their intereſt.

None daring to mention this to the king, his jeſter, Archee, made him ſenſible of it, by telling him, He came to change caps with him. "Why?"

ſaid the king. "Becauſe," replied Archee, "thou "haſt ſent the prince into Spain, from whence he "is never like to return." "But," ſaid the king, "what wilt thou ſay when thou ſeeſt him come "back again?" "Marry," ſays the jeſter, "I "will take off the fool's cap, which I now put "upon thy head for ſending him thither, and "put it on the king of Spain's for letting him "return."

This ſo awakened the king's apprehenſion of the prince's danger, that it threw him into an exceeding melancholy, from which he was never free till he was aſſured of the prince's return to his own dominions; and that was not long after: for notwithſtanding the conteſts of his two prime miniſters there, Buckingham and Briſtol, (which were ſufficient to amaze an ordinary prudence, and diſturb the counſels of ſo young a beginner in the myſteries of empire, and the arts of experienced conclaves;) the impetuous attempts of the Spaniſh clergy, either for a change of his religion, or a toleration of theirs; the ſpleen of Olivares, whom Buckingham had exaſperated; he ſo dexterouſly managed the treaty of marriage, that all the articles and circumſtances were ſolemnly ſworn to by both kings. By a civil letter to the pope, which his enemies malice afterwards took as an occaſion of ſlander, he procured a civil return, with the grant of a diſpenſation; baffled the hopes of their clergy by his conſtancy in his own profeſſion, and vindicated it from the odious aſperſions of their prieſts, by cauſing our Liturgy to be tranſlated into the Spaniſh tongue; and by his noble mien enthralled the infanta, for whom he had expoſed his liberty.

Yet having an inſight into the practices of that court, that they would not put the reſtitution of the palatinate into the conſideration of the portion, but

but reſerve it as an extraordinary inſtance of the Spaniſh love, and as an opportunity for the infanta to reconcile the Engliſh ſpirits, who were heated by the late wars into an hatred of the Spaniards; and that this was but to lengthen out the treaty till they had wholly brought the palatinate under their power.; he conformed his mind to the reſolution of his father, who ſaid, He would never marry his ſon with a portion of his only ſiſter's tears, and therefore inclined to a rupture: but concealing his purpoſe, and diſſembling his knowledge of their deſigns, he conſulted his own ſafety and return, which his father's letters commanded; which he ſo prudently acquired, that the king of Spain parted from him with all thoſe endearments with which departing friends take leave of each other; having ſatisfied him by a proxy left with the earl of Briſtol, to be delivered when the diſpenſation was come; which, as ſoon as he was ſafe on ſhipboard, by a private expreſs, he commanded him to keep in his hands till further orders.

His return to England, which was in October, 1623, was entertained with as much joy and thankſgiving, as if he had been the good genius of the whole nation; and his entrance into London was a triumph for his wiſdom, their bonfires lengthened out the day, and their bells by inceſſant ringing, forbad ſleep to thoſe eyes which were refreſhed with his ſight: nor could the people by age or ſickneſs be confined at home, but deſpiſing the preſcriptions of their phyſicians, they went to meet him as reſtored to health.

When he had given the king an account of his voyage, and the Spaniſh counſels not to reſtore the palatinate, a parliament was ſummoned, which was ſo zealous of the honour of the prince, that both houſes voted an addreſs to his majeſty, that

he would no longer treat, but begin a war with Spain; and desiring the prince's mediation, who was always ready to gratify the nation, therein to his father, they assured him they would stand by him with their lives and fortunes; but yet, when the war with the crown descended to him, they shamefully deserted him in the beginning of his reign.

When neither a wife nor peace was any longer to be expected from Spain, both were sought for from France, by a marriage with Henrietta Maria, the youngest daughter of Henry IV. the love of whom the prince had received by the eye, and she of him by the ear: for having formerly received impressions from the relations of his gallantry, when she was told of his passing through Paris, she answered, as it is reported, That, if he went to Spain for a wife, he might have had one nearer hand, and saved himself a great part of the labour.

In the midst of these preparations for war and love, king James died at Theobald's, on Sunday the twenty-seventh of March, 1625; and prince Charles was immediately proclaimed at the court gate king of Great Britain, France, and Ireland; and so throughout all the three kingdoms, with infinite rejoycings; the people expecting the happiest government under him, whose private and youthful part of life had been so well spent, that it had nothing in it which could want to be excused, and where the eager inquisitors for matter of reproach met with no satisfaction. An argument of a solid virtue, that could not hold out against all the vices of youth, that are rendered more impetuous by flatteries and plenty, which are continually resident in great courts: for had any debauchery polluted his earlier days, it had been published by

by thoſe who in ſcarcity of juſt accuſations did invent unimaginable calumnies: nor could it have been hid, for in a great fortune nothing is concealed, but curioſity opens the cloſets and bedchambers, eſpecially of princes, and diſcovers their cloſeſt retirements, expoſing all their actions to fame and cenſure. Nor did the king deceive their hopes, they being the happieſt people under the ſun, while he was undiſturbed in the adminiſtration of juſtice.

His firſt publ c act was the celebrating his father's funeral, whereat he himſelf was the chief mourner, contrary to the practice of his royal predeceſſors, and not conformable to the ceremonies of ſtate; either preferring piety to an unnatural grandeur; or guided by ſome ſecret decree of Providence, that, in all the ruins of his family, he ſhould drink the greateſt draught of ears; or his ſpirit preſaging the troubles of the throne, he would hallow the aſcent to it by a pious act of grief.

When he had paid that debt to his deceaſed father, he next provided for poſterity, and therefore haſtened the coming over of his deareſt conſort, whom the duke of Chevereux had in his name eſpouſed at the church of Noſtre-Dame in Paris; and he receiving her at Dover the next day after Trinity Sunday; at Canterbury began his conjugal embraces.----A lady of moſt excellent endowments, who aſſumed to herſelf nothing in his good fortune but the joy; and in his evil bore an equal ſhare; for ſhe reverenced him, not his greatneſs.

Thus having diſpatched the affairs of his family, he applies himſelf to thoſe of his kingdoms, which too much felicity had made unmanageable by a moderate government: and he ſeemed not ſo much to aſcend a throne as enter upon a theatre,

to wreſtle with all the difficulties of a corrupted ſtate; whoſe long peace had ſoftened almoſt all the nobility into court-pleaſures, and made the commons inſolent by a great plenty. The rites and diſcipline of religion had been blotted out by a long and uninterrupted proſperity, and factions crept from the church into the ſenate, which were made uſe of by thoſe that endeavoured the alteration of government; and the reſolves of that council were the dictates of ſome heady demagogues, who fed the vulgar with hopes of novelty under the name of liberty; ſo that the king could not endure their vices, nor they his virtues: whence came all the obſtructions to his deſigns for glory and the public good. The treaſury had been exhauſted to ſatiate the hungry and greedy Scots; and the people were taught not to ſupply it, unleſs they were bribed with the blood of ſome miniſter of ſtate, or ſome more advantages for licentiouſneſs. Each of theſe ſingle would have ennobled the care of an ordinary prudence to have weathered out: but when all theſe conſpired with the traiterous projects of men of unbounded and unlawful hopes, they took from him his peace, and that which the world calls happineſs; but yet they made him great, and affording exerciſes for his moſt excellent abilities, rendered him glorious.

The different ſtates of theſe difficulties, when like clouds they were gathering together, and when they deſcended in ſhowers of blood, divided the king's reign into two parts. The firſt could not be eſteemed days of peace, but an immunity from civil-war. The other was when he was concluded by that fatal neceſſity, either to part with his dignity, and expoſe his ſubjects to the injuries of numerous tyrants; or elſe to exceed the calmer temper of his peaceful ſoul, and make uſe of thoſe neceſſary

neceſſary arms whereby he might hope to divert, if poſſible, the ruin of church and ſtate which he ſaw in projection.

In the firſt part he had no wars at home but what was in the houſes of parliament; which, though their firſt inſtitution was deſigned for the production of juſt counſels, and aſſiſtances of government, yet, through the juſt indignation of heaven, and the practiſes of ſome unquiet and ſeditious perſons, became the wombs wherein were firſt conceived and formed thoſe monſtrous confuſions which deſtroyed their own liberty, cauſed our miſeries and the king's afflictions.

His firſt parliament began on the eighteenth of June; at the opening of which the king acquainted them with the neceſſity of ſupplies for the war with Spain, which they importunately had through his mediation engaged his father in, and made it as hereditary to him as the crown: but the projectors of the alteration of government brought into debate two petitions; one for religion, the other for grievances, formed in king James's time, which delayed the ſuccours, and increaſed the neceſſities, which at laſt they anſwered but with two ſubſidies; too poor a ſtock to furniſh an army with; yet was kindly accepted, in expectation of more at the next ſeſſion: for the infection ſeizing upon London, the parliament was adjourned till Auguſt, when they were to meet at Oxford; and at that time he paſſed ſuch acts as were preſented to him.

At the next ſeſſion he gave a complying and ſatisfactory anſwer to all their petitions, and expected a retribution in larger ſubſidies towards the Spaniſh war: but, inſtead of theſe, there were high and furious debates of grievances, conſulta-

tions to form and publiſh remonſtrances, accuſations of the duke of Buckingham: which the king eſteeming as reproaches of his government, and aſſaults upon monarchy, diſſolves that aſſembly, hoping to find one of a leſs choleric complexion after his coronation.

This inauſpicious meeting drew after it another miſchief, the miſcarriage of the deſigns upon Spain: for the ſupplies of money being ſcanty and ſlow, the fleet could not go forth till the eighth of October; an unreaſonable time in the Britiſh ſea; and their firſt conteſt was with winds and tempeſts, which deſtroying ſome, ſcattered a great part, and obliged the remainder to deſiſt from their enterprize. So what was the effect only of the malice of his enemies, was imputed by ſome to a ſecret decree of Heaven, which obſtructed his juſt undertakings for glory.

The next year, 1627, the king, quickened by the petitions of the Rochellers, who now ſued for his protection, as well as by the juſtice of his own cauſe, more early proſecuted his counſels, and ſent the duke of Buckingham to attack the iſle of Rhee; which, though alarmed to a greater ſtrength by the laſt year's vain attempt, yet had now ſubmitted to the Engliſh valour, had not the duke managed that war more with the gayeties of a courtier than the arts of a ſoldier: and when it was wiſdom to forſake thoſe attempts which former neglects had made impoſſible, being too greedy for honour, and to avoid the imputation of a ſafe retreat, he loaded his overthrow with a new ignominy, and a heavier loſs of men.

This expedition being ſo unhappy, and the miſeries of Rochel making them importunate for the king's aſſiſtance, his compaſſionate ſoul was deſirous

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to remove their dangers, but was reſtrained by that neceſſitous condition the faction had concluded him under. To free himſelf from which, that he might deliver the oppreſſed, he pawned his own lands for one hundred and twenty thouſand pounds to the city, and borrowed thirty thouſand pounds more of the Eaſt-India company: but this was yet too narrow a foundation to ſupport the charges of the fleet, and no way ſo natural to get adequate ſupplies as by a parliament; which he therefore ſummoned to meet on the ſeventeenth of March, intending to uſe all methods of complacency to unite the ſubjects affections to himſelf.

This in the beginning proved ſucceſsful, for the modeſty of the ſubjects ſtrove with the piety of the king, and both intereſts contended to oblige that they might be obliged. The parliament granted the king, in the year 1628, five ſubſidies, and he freely granted their petition of right, the greateſt condeſcenſion that ever any king made, wherein he ſeemed to ſubmit the royal ſcepter to the popular faſces, and to have given ſatisfaction even to ſupererrogation.

Theſe auſpicious beginnings, though full of joy both to prince and people, were matter of envy to the faction; and therefore, to form new diſcontents and jealouſies, the demagogues perſwaded the houſes that the king's grant of their petition extended even to the taking away his right to tonage and poundage. Beſides this, they were again hammering a remonſtrance to reproach him and his miniſters of mal-adminiſtration. Which ingratitude he being not able to endure, on the twenty-ſixth of June, adjourns the parliament till the twentieth of October, and afterward, by proclamation, till the twentieth of January following.

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In the interim, the king haſtens to ſend ſuccours to Rochel; and though the general, the duke of Buckingham, was at Portſmouth aſſaſſinated by Felton, armed, as he profeſſed, with the public hatred; yet the preparations were not ſlackened: the king, by his perſonal induſtry, doing more to the neceſſary furniſhing of the fleet in ten or twelve days than the duke had done in ſo many months before: but in the mean while Rochel was barricadoed to an impoſſibility of relief. Therefore the earl of Lindſey, who commanded the forces, after ſome gallant, yet fruitleſs attempts, returned to England, and the Rochellers to the obedience of the French king.

As Providence had removed the great object of the popular hate, and, as pretended, the chief obſtruction of the ſubjects love to their king, the duke of Buckingham; ſo the king himſelf endeavoured to remove all other occaſions of quarrel before the next ſeſſion. He reſtored archbiſhop Abbot, who, for his remiſneſs in the diſcipline of the church, had been ſuſpended from his office, and was therefore the darling of the commons becauſe in diſgrace with the king. Dr. Potter, the great Calviniſt, was made biſhop of Carliſle; Mr. Mountague's book of Appello Cæſarem was called in; proclamations were iſſued out againſt papiſts; ſir Thomas Wentworth, an active leader of the commons, was towards the beginning of this ſeſſion, as ſir John Savil had been at the end of the laſt, called up into the lord's houſe, being made viſcount Wentworth, and lord preſident of the north.

But the honours of theſe perſons (whoſe parts the king, who well underſtood men, thought worthy of his favour and employment) ſeeming the

the rewards of ſedition, and the ſpoils of deſtructive counſels, the demagogues were more eager in the purſuit of that which they had attained to, by the like arts: and therefore, deſpiſing all the king's obliging practices, in the next ſeſſion they aſſumed the power of reforming church and ſtate, called the cuſtomers into queſtion for levying tonage and poundage, made now their invectives, as they formerly did againſt the duke, againſt the lord-treaſurer Weſton; ſo that it appeared, that not the perſons of men, but the king's truſt of them, was the object of their envy; and his favour, though never ſo virtuous, marked them out for ruin: and upon theſe points they raiſed the heat to ſuch a degree, that, fearing they ſhould be diſſolved ere they had time to vent their paſſions they began a violence upon their own body, they locked the doors of the houſe, kept the key thereof in their own pockets, held the ſpeaker by ſtrong hands in the chair, till they had thundered out their votes, like dreadful Anathemaes, againſt thoſe that ſhould levy, and, which was more ranting, againſt ſuch as ſhould willingly pay the tonage and poundage. This force the king went with his guard of penſioners to remove; which they hearing adjourned the houſe; and the king, in the houſe of Lords, declaring the injuſtice of thoſe vipers who deſtroyed their own liberty, diſſolved the parliament.

While the winds of ſedition raged thus furiouſly at home, more gentle gales came from abroad. The French king's deſigns upon other places required peace from us, and therefore the ſigniory of Venice, by her embaſſadors, was moved to procure an accord betwixt Charles and Lewis; which the king accepted: and not long after, in the year

year 1629, the Spaniards, preſſed with equal neceſſities, deſired amity; which was alſo granted.

The king, being thus freed from his domeſtic embroilments and foreign enmities, ſoon made the world ſee his ſkill in the arts of empire, and rendered himſelf abroad more conſiderable than any of his predeceſſors: and he was more glorious in the eyes of the good, and more ſatisfied in his own breaſt, by confirming peace with prudence, than if he had finiſhed wars with deſtroying arms: ſo that his ſceptre was the caduceus to arbitrate the differences of the potentates of Europe. His ſubjects likewiſe taſted the ſweetneſs of a reign which Heaven indulged with all its favours, but only that of valuing their happineſs. While other nations weltered in blood, his people enjoyed a profound peace, and that plenty which the freedom of commerce brings along with it.

While the king diſpenſed theſe bleſſings to the people, Heaven was liberal to him in giving him a ſon to inherit his dominions, on the twenty-ninth of May, 1630; which was ſo great matter of rejoycing to the people of uncorrupted minds, that Heaven ſeemed alſo concerned in the exultation, kindling another fire more than ordinary, making a ſtar to be ſeen the ſame day at noon.

For this great bleſſing the king gave public thanks to the author of it, almighty God, at St. Paul's church; and God was pleaſed with a numerous iſſue afterwards to increaſe his happineſs.

Proſpering thus in peace at home, a ſmall time aſſiſted his frugality to get ſuch a treaſure, and gave him leiſure to form ſuch counſels, as might curb the inſolence of his enemies abroad. He confederated with other princes to give a check to the Auſtrian greatneſs, aſſiſting by his treaſure, arms

arms and counſel, the king of Sweeden, to deliver the oppreſſed German ſtates from the imperial oppreſſions; and, when Guſtavus's fortune made him inſolent, and he would impoſe unequal conditions upon the platſgrave, the king's brother-in-law, he conſtrained him, notwithſtanding his victories, to more eaſy articles.

In the year 1632, ſome tumults in Ireland ſhewed a defect in that government, which made the king ſend over as deputy thither the lord Wentworth, a moſt accompliſhed perſon in affairs of government. The king's choice of him he ſoon juſtified, by reducing that tumultary people to ſuch a condition of peace and ſecurity as it had never ſeen ſince its firſt annexion to this crown; and made it pay the charges of its own government, which before was deducted out of the Engliſh treaſury: their peace and laws now opening acceſſes for plenty.

This enjoyment of peace and plenty through all the king's dominions made him mindful of employing ſome fruits of it to the honour of that God who cauſed it; and not to let ſo great a proſperity wholly corrupt the minds of men to a neglect of religion, which is uſual. He ſhewed his own zeal for the ornaments of it, and ſpent part of his treaſure towards the repair of St. Paul's church, and by his example, admonitions and commands, drew many of his ſubjects to a contribution for it.

Some reaſons of ſtate drew the king from London on the thirteenth of May, 1633, to receive the imperial crown of Scotland. He himſelf declared that he had no great ſtomach to the journey, nor delight in the nation, being a race of men that, under the ſcheme of an honeſt animoſity and ſpecious plain dealing, were moſt perfidious. Yet,

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as he had been nobly treated all along his journey by the Engliſh nobility, ſo was he there magnificently received and crowned at Edinburgh, on the tenth of June. But the king ſoon found all thoſe careſſes falſe: for the nobility and laic patrons could not digeſt his revocation, though legal and innocent, of ſuch things as had been ſtolen from the crown during his father's minority, with a commiſſion for ſurrendry of ſuperiorities and tithes to be retaken from the king by the preſent occupants (who could as then pretend to no other title than the unjuſt uſurpation of their anceſtors) on ſuch conditions as might bring ſome profit to the crown, to which they juſtly belonged, ſome augmentation to the clergy, and far more eaſe and benefit to the common people, whom, by advantage of thoſe illegal tenures, they oppreſſed with a moſt bitter vaſſalage.

This act of his majeſty being ſo full of equity and public good, thoſe whoſe greatneſs was founded upon injuſtice, did not barefacedly oppoſe it, but endeavoured to hinder that and all the other deſigns of peace and order, by oppoſing in the parliament next after the coronation, the act of ratification of all thoſe laws which king James had made in that nation, for the better regulating the affairs of that church, both as to the government and worſhip of it.

This was highly oppoſed by ſuch as were ſenſible of their diminution by a legal reſtitution of their unrighteous poſſeſſions; and, although the king carried it by a major part of voices, yet, to prevent their own fires with the public ruin, they repreſented it among the people as the abetting of popery, and the betraying their ſpiritual liberty to the Romiſh yoke. Theſe calumnies received more credit by the king's order for a more

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decent and reverend worſhip of God at his royal chapel at Edinburgh, conformably to the Engliſh uſage.

Their noiſe grew lowder by the conſent of their party of malcontents in England, who alſo took advantage to diffuſe their poiſons from the king's book of ſports, which king James had in his time publiſhed in Lancaſhire, and was now ratified by king Charles for a more univerſal obſervance. The occaſion of which was the apoſtaſy of many to popery, whoſe doctrines and practices are more indulgent to the licentious, through the rigid opinions of ſome preachers, who equalled all recreations on the ſabbath, as they called it, to the moſt prodigious tranſgreſſions.

On the contrary, ſome of the ignorant teachers had perverted many to downright Judaiſm, by the conſequence of ſo ſtrict an obſervance of the ſabbath: and ſome over-buſy juſtices of peace had ſuppreſſed all the ancient feaſts of the dedication of churches.

The king therefore intended by this edict to obſtruct the ſucceſs of the enemies on both ſides, and to free his people from the yoke of this ſuperſtition: but, ſuch is the weakneſs of human prudence, that the remedies it applies to one inconvenience are pregnant of another; and whereas the generality of men ſeldom do good but as neceſſitated by law, when liberty is indulged, all things are ſoon filled with diſorder and confuſion: and ſo it happened in this, that the vulgar, abuſing the king's liberty, which was no more than is granted in other proteſtant churches, and committing many indecencies, made many well-tempered ſpirits too capable and credulous of thoſe importunate calumnies of the faction, that his majeſty was not well-affected to religion.

In

In the year 1634, the boldneſs of the Pickeroons, Turks, and Dunkirk-pirates infeſting our coaſts, damaging our traffic, the uſurpation of the Holland fiſhers on the king's dominion in the narrow ſeas, and his right diſputed in a tract by the learned Grotius, required the king's next cares for his own honour, and the people's ſafety. But the remedy appeared exceeding difficult; the furniſhing a navy for ſo honourable an undertaking being too heavy a burden for his exchequer; which, although not emptied by any luxurious feaſts, nor profuſely waſted on ſome prodigal and unthrifty favourite, nor laviſhed on ambitious deſigns, from all which deſtructions of treaſure no king was more free, was but juſt ſufficient for ordinary and neceſſary expences of ſtate and majeſty: and though it was moſt juſt for him to expect the people's contributions to their own ſafety, who were never richer than now, nor had they ever more ſecurity for their riches than they now had by his conceſſions of liberty; yet, knowing how powerful the faction always was to diſturb the counſels of parliament, he feared that from their proceedings the common enemies would be encouraged, as formerly, to higher inſolencies, and the envious demagogues would contemn their own ſafety to ruin his honour. He alſo accounted it an unhappineſs to be neceſſitated to maintain his ſtate by extraordinary ways, and therefore refuſed to renew privy-ſeals and loans, the uſe of which he debarred himſelf of in granting the petition of right. Therefore he conſulted his attorney-general Noy, whether the prerogative had yet any thing left to ſave an unwilling people. Noy acquainted him with ancient precedents of raiſing a tax upon the nation for ſetting forth a navy in caſe of danger; and aſſures him of the legallity of the way in proceeding by

by writs to that effect. Which counſel being embraced, there were writs directed to the ſeveral counties for ſuch a contribution, that in the whole might build, furniſh and maintain forty-ſeven ſhips for the ſafety of the kingdom: and by theſe the king ſoon ſecured and calmed the ſeas; but the faction endeavoured to raiſe a tempeſt at land.

In the year 1635, they complained of invaſions on their ſpiritual liberties, becauſe the biſhops endeavoured in theſe years to reduce the ceremonies of the church to their primitive obſervance, of which a long proſperity had made them negligent; and time had done that to the ſpiritual body which it doth to the natural, daily amaſſed thoſe corruptions which at length will ſtand in need of cure. Therefore, when they took this proper method of reforming a corrupted ſtate, in bringing things back to their original inſtitution, both his majeſty and they were defamed with deſigns of popery.

This tax of ſhip-money was pretended a breach to their civil liberties, and contrary to law, becauſe not levied by a parliament. Therefore thoſe who ſought the people's favour to alter the preſent government, by ſeeming the ſingular patrons of their rights, refuſed to pay the tax, (anno 1636) and ſtood it out to a trial at law. The juſt prince declined not the trial, and permitted monarchy and liberty to plead at the ſame bar.

All the judges of the land juſtified by their ſubſcriptions, that it was legal for the king to levy ſuch a tax; and their ſubſcriptions were enrolled in all the courts of Weſtminſter-Hall: and when it came to be argued in the exchequer-chamber, ten of them abſolutely declared for it: only two, Crooke and Hutton, openly diſſented from that opinion to which they had formerly ſubſcribed,

not without the ignominy of levity unbeſeeming their places: and, as the king was thus vigorous in the law, ſo was he at ſea; having curbed the pirates, he alſo reduced the Hollanders to a precarious uſe of his ſeas.

Amidſt theſe difficulties and calumnies, the king hitherto had ſo governed, that ſober men could not pray for, nor Heaven grant in mercy to a people any greater happineſs than what his reign afforded. The Britiſh empire never flouriſhed more with magnificent edifices; the trade of the nation had brought the wealth of the Indies home to our doors; learning and all good ſciences were ſo encouraged, that they grew to admiration, and many arts of the ancients, buried and forgotten by time, were revived again; no ſubjects under the ſun ever were richer, and, which was the effect of that: none prouder. Security encreaſed the huſbandman's ſtock, and juſtice preſerved his life; none being condemned to death, but by the lawful verdict of thoſe of an equal condition, the jury of his peers. The poor might reverence, but needed not fear the great; and the great, though he might deſpiſe, yet could not injure, his more obſcure neighbour: and all things were ſo adminiſtred, that they ſeemed to conſpire to the public good; except that they made our happineſs too much the cauſe of all civil commotions, and brought our felicity to that height, that by the neceſſity of human nature, which hath placed all things in motion, it muſt neceſſarily decline: and God, provoked by our ſins, no longer reſtrained the arts and fury of ſome wicked men who, contemning their preſent certain enjoyments, hoped for more wicked acquiſitions in public troubles, to overwhelm every part of the king's dominions with a deluge of blood and miſery, and to commence

mence that war which, as it was horrid with much ſlaughter, ſo it was memorable by the proofs of his majeſty's virtues; confuſions, like winds, from every coaſt at once aſſaulting and trying his righteous ſoul.

The firſt ſtorm aroſe from the north, and the flame firſt broke out in Scotland, where thoſe lords who feared they ſhould loſe their ſpoils of religion and majeſty, took all occaſions to haſten the public miſery, by calumniating the king's government, raiſing fears of tyranny and idolatry, forming and ſpreading ſeditious libels. The author, or at leaſt the abettor, one of which was found to be the lord Balmerino, a traitor by nature, being the ſon of one who had before deſerved death for his treaſons to king James, yet found that mercy from him as the ſon now did from king Charles, to have his life and eſtate continued after condemnation. Yet this perfidious man interpreted the king's clemency for his own virtue; and he that had dared ſuch a crime, could not be changed by the pardon of it; and, as if he had rather received an injury than life, he was the moſt active in the enſuing rebellion.

The rabble, that delights in tumults, were incited by this and other incendiaries, to any occaſion of contemning the king's authority; and at laſt took fire from the Liturgy, ſomething differing from ours, which ſome Scotiſh biſhops had compoſed and preſented to the king for the uſe of their church; which the king, who was deſirous that thoſe who were united under his command, might not be divided in worſhip, confirmed, and appointed to be firſt read on the thirteenth of July at Edinburgh, a city always pregnant with ſuſpicions and falſe rumours. But it was received with

all the inſtruments of fury that were preſent to a debauched multitude: for they flung cudgels and ſticks at the dean of Edinburgh while he was performing his office; and after that was done re-inforced their aſſault upon the biſhops, whom the earls of Roxbrough and Traquaire pretended to protect, who endured ſome affronts, that their patience might provoke a greater rage in the multitude, which a vigorous puniſhment had eaſily extinguiſhed.

But it ſoon appeared that it was not the bare effort of a mutinous multitude, but a long formed conſpiracy: and to this multitude there were leaders to head them of ſeveral orders: who preſently digeſted their partiſans into ſeveral tables, and encreaſed this mutiny to a formal rebellion. To proſecute which, they mutually obliged themſelves and the nation in a covenant, to extirpate epiſcopacy, and whatſoever they pleaſed to brand with the odious names of hereſy and ſuperſtition, and to defend each other againſt all perſons, not excepting the king.

To reduce this people to more peaceful practices, the king ſent the marquis of Hamilton as his commiſſioner: who, with a ſpecies of loyalty, diſſembled that pleaſure which he took in the oppoſition of the covenanters, whoſe firſt motions were ſecretly directed by his counſels, and thoſe of his dependents, Traquaire and Roxbrough, for all his allies were of that party, and his mother rid armed with piſtols at her ſaddle-bow for the defence of the covenant.

By his proceedings there, new ſeeds of diſcontent and war were daily ſown, and his oppoſitions ſo faint, that he rather encreaſed than allayed their fury. By ſeveral returns to his majeſty for new inſtructions

ſtructions, he gave time to the rebels to ſtrengthen their conſpiracy, to call home their exiles of poverty that were in foreign armies, and provide arms for open force. By his falſe repreſentation of the ſtate of things, he induced the king to temporize with the too potent corruption of that nation, and by granting their deſires, to make them ſenſible of the evils which would flow from their own counſels. Therefore the king gave order for revoking the Liturgy, the High-Commiſſion, the the Book of Canons, and the Five Articles of Perth.

But the covenanters were rendered more inſolent by theſe conceſſions, becauſe they had gotten that by unlawful courſes and unjuſt force which modeſty and ſubmiſſion had never obtained; and imputing theſe grants to the king's weakneſs, not his goodneſs, they proceeded to bolder attempts: called an aſſembly without his authority, in which they aboliſhed epiſcopacy, excommunicated the biſhops, and all that adhered to them. Afterwards they ſeized upon the king's revenue, ſurprized his forts and caſtles, and at laſt took up arms.

Provoked with theſe injuries, the king raiſed a gallant army, in which was a very great appearance of lords and gentlemen; and with theſe marched and encamped within two miles of Berwick, within ſight of the enemy. But their preſent condition being ſuch as could endure neither war or peace, they endeavoured to diſſipate that army, which they could not overthrow, by a pretence to a pacification. For which they petitioned the king, who conſented to it out of his innate tenderneſs of his ſubject's blood. So an accommodation was made on the ſeventeenth of June, 1939; and the king diſbanded his army, expecting the Scots

ſhould do the like, according to the articles of agreement.

But they being delivered from fear, would not be reſtrained by ſhame from breaking their faith: for no ſooner had the king diſbanded his army, but they proteſted againſt the pacification, printed many copies of it, that might repreſent it diſhonourable to the king, retained their officers in pay, changed the old form of holding parliaments, invaded the prerogative of the crown, and ſollicited the French king for an aid of men and money.

In the year 1640, the king prepared to raiſe another army, and in order thereto called a parliament in Ireland, and another in England, for aſſiſtance againſt the rebels in Scotland. The Iriſh granted money to raiſe and pay eight thouſand men in arms, and furniſh them with amunition. Yet this example, with the king's account of the injuries done to him and this nation by the Scots, and his promiſe of for ever acquitting them of ſhip-money, if now they would freely aſſiſt him, prevailed nothing upon the Engliſh parliament, whom the faction drew aſide to other counſels: and when the king ſent ſir Henry Vane to remind them of his deſires, and to demand twelve ſubſidies, yet to accept of ſix, he induſtriouſly, as was collected from his own and his ſon's following practices, inſiſted upon the twelve, without inſinuation of the leſſer quantity his majeſty would be contented with; which gave ſuch an opportunity and matter for ſeditious harangues, that the houſe was ſo exaſperated, as that they were about to remonſtrate againſt the war with Scotland.

To prevent this ominous effect of the treachery of his ſervant, the king was forced to diſſolve the parliament on the fifth of May, yet continued the convocation

convocation, which granted him four ſhillings in the pound for all their eccleſiaſtical promotions. But the laiety in the houſe had not time to declaim againſt his majeſty's proceedings, did it without doors; for being diſperſed home, they filled all places with ſuſpicious rumours and high diſcontents; and in Southwark there was an open mutiny began, which was not pacified without much danger, and the execution of the principal leaders.

The king thus betrayed, defamed and deſerted by thoſe who ſhould have conſidered that in his honour their ſafety was embarked, though he had no leſs cauſe to fear ſecret conſpiracies at home, which were more dangerous becauſe obſcure, than the Scots public hoſtility; yet vigorouſly proſecuted his undertaking, and raiſed a ſufficient army: but could not do it with equal expedition, as his enemies, who had ſoon re-united their diſperſed forces, and encouraged by the faction, with whom they held intelligence, in England, contented not themſelves to ſtand upon the defenſive, but invaded us, and advanced ſo far before all the king's army could be gathered together, that they gave a defeat to a party of it before the rear could be brought up by the earl of Strafford, who was appointed general, or the king could come to encourage them with his preſence.

He was no ſooner arrived at his army, but there followed him from ſome Engliſh lords a petition, very conformable to the Scotch remonſtrance, which they called The Intentions of the Army. So that his majeſty might juſtly fear ſome attempts in the ſouth, while he was thus defending himſelf from the northern injuries. The king anſwered the petitioners, That before their petition came, he had reſolved to ſummon all the peers to conſult

what would be moſt for the ſafety of the nation and his own honour; who accordingly met on the twenty-fourth of September, where it was determined that a parliament ſhould be called to meet on the third of November; and, in the mean time, a truce ſhould be made with the Scots, with whom ſome commiſſioners from the parliament ſhould treat.

On the third of November began that fatal parliament, which was ſo tranſported by the arts of ſome unquiet perſons, that they diſhonoured the name and hopes of a parliament, ingulfed the nation in a ſea of blood, ruined the king, and betrayed all their own privileges and the people's liberty into the power of a phanatic and perfidious army: and although his majeſty could not hope to find them moderate, yet he endeavoured to make them ſo; telling them at their meeting, that he was reſolved to put himſelf freely upon the affections of his Engliſh ſubjects; that he would ſatisfy all their juſt grievances, and not leave to malice itſelf a ſhadow to doubt of his deſire to make this a glorious and flouriſhing kingdom. He commended to their care the chaſing out of the rebels, the proviſions of his own army, and the relief of the oppreſſed northern countries.

But the malignity of ſome few, and the ignorance of more, employed that aſſembly in other matters: firſt, in purging their houſe of all ſuch as they conceived would not comply with their deſtructive enterprizes; and for ſuch men they either found ſome fault with their elections, or made them criminals in ſome public grievance; though others, of a deeper guilt, they kept among them, that their offences might make them obnoxious to their power, and obſequious to their commands. Then, with compoſed harangues, they declaimed upon

upon the public grievances, and reckoned up caſual misfortunes amongſt deſigned abuſes of government, every way raiſing up contumelies againſt the preſent power; and that which was fulleſt of detraction and envy, was applauded as moſt pregnant with liberty. Thus pretending ſeveral injuries had been done to the people, they raiſed the multitude to hopes of an unbounded liberty, and a diſcontent with the preſent government.

After this they ſet free all the martyrs of ſedition that for their malignant libels had been impriſoned, and three of them were conducted through London with ſuch a company of people adorned with roſemary and bays, as it ſeemed a triumph over juſtice and thoſe tribunals that ſentenced them. Then they fell upon all the chief miniſters of ſtate: they impeached the earl of Strafford, lord-lieutenant of Ireland; after him the archbiſhop of Canterbury; the lord Finch, keeper of the great ſeal; the judges that had determined the ſhip-money legal; and others; ſome of which fled, thoſe that were found were clapped into priſon.

While the factious thus led the houſe, their partiſans without, by their inſtructions, formed petitions againſt the government in church and ſtate; to which they ſeduced the ignorant rabble in the city and ſeveral counties to ſubſcribe, and in a tumultuous manner to preſent them to their patriots: who being animated by the ſucceſs of their arts, fell to draw up a bill for triennial parliaments, wherein the power of calling that great council of the nation was, upon the refuſal of the king, and the neglect of others, devolved upon conſtables. Which profanation of majeſty, though the king diſſwaded them from, yet they perſiſted in; and he paſſed it.

In

In the year 1641, the king, with much reluctance ſigned a commiſſion to ſome lords to paſs the bill of attainder againſt the earl of Strafford; and another for continuation of the parliament during the pleaſure of the two houſes.

The paſſing of theſe two bills, as ſome thought, wounded the king's greatneſs more than any thing he ever did. The firſt, becauſe it cut off a moſt faithful ſervant; and none upbraided him more than thoſe who had forced him to it. By the other bill, he had, in the opinion of ſome, renounced his crown, and granted it to thoſe men who at preſent exerciſed ſo arbitrary a power, that they wanted nothing but length of time to be reputed kings; and this they now had gotten. But the more ſpeculative concluded it an act of eſpecial prudence, for the king made that an evidence of his ſincere intention to oblige his people, and overcome the malice of his enemies with benefits; which the faction would have uſurped, and by the boldneſs of the attempt, engaged the people to them as the only patrons of their liberty; and they were furniſhed with an example for it by their confederates in Scotland, who called an aſſembly without the king's leave, and continued it againſt his pleaſure.

The fall of the earl of Strafford ſo terrified the other officers of ſtate, that the lord-high-treaſurer reſigned his ſtaff to the hands from whence he received it; the lord Cottington forſook the maſterſhip of the court of wards; and the guardian of the prince returned him to the king. Theſe lords parting with their offices, like thoſe that ſcatter their treaſure and jewels in the way, that they might delude the violence of their greedy purſuers.

But

But the king was left naked of their faithful miniſtry, and expoſed to the infuſions and informations of thoſe who were either complices or mercenaries to the faction, to whom they diſcovered his moſt private counſels.

When the earl of Strafford was dead, then did the parliament begin to think of ſending away the Scots, who hitherto had much impoveriſhed the northern counties, and increaſed the charges of the nation: but now they were voted to receive three hundred thouſand pounds, under the notion of a brotherly aſſiſtance; but in truth deſigned by the faction, as a reward for their clamours for the earl's blood: yet were they kept ſo long till the king had reſigned more of his prerogative, in ſigning the bills to take away the high-commiſſion and the ſtar-chamber. After which ſpoils of majeſty, they disbanded the Engliſh and the Scotch armies, on the ſixth of Auguſt; and, on the tenth of that month, the king followed them into Scotland, to ſettle, if it were poſſible, that kingdom. But the king ſtill found them as before. When he ſatisfied their greedy appetites, then would they offer him their lives and fortunes; but when gain or advantage appeared from his enemies, they appeared in their proper nature ungrateful, changeable and perfidious, whom no favours could oblige, nor any thing but ruin was to be expected by building upon their love.

While the king was in Scotland, labouring to ſettle that nation by granting all that the covetouſneſs and ambition of their leaders pretended was for the public good, and ſo aimed at no leſs than a miracle, by his favours to reduce faith into theſe perfidious breaſts; the parliament adjourned and left a ſtanding committee of ſuch as were the leaders or the ſervants of the faction. Theſe prepared

pared new toils for his majeſty's return, and by them was the Grand Remonſtrance formed. In it were reckoned for grievances all the complaints of men that were impatient of laws and government; the offences of courtiers; the unpleaſing reſolves of judges; the neglects, or rigours, of the miniſters of juſtice; the undigeſted ſermons of ſome preachers; yea, the poſitions of ſome divines in the ſchools, were all exaggerated to defame the preſent government both in church and ſtate, and to magnify the ſkill of theſe ſtate-phyſicians that offered preſcriptions for all theſe diſtempers. Beſides, more eaſily to abuſe the vulgar, who reckon misfortunes as crimes, unpleaſing accidents were repreſented as deſigns of tyranny; and thoſe things which had been reformed, were yet mentioned as continued burthens; from which the people were aſſured there could be no deliverance but by the wiſdom and magnanimity of the remonſtrants.

To prepare the way for this, the opprobrious parts of it were firſt whiſpered among the populace, that, by this ſeeming ſuppreſſion, men, impatient of ſecrets, might more eagerly divulge them, and the danger appear greater by an affected ſilence. Then prodigious calumnies were formed of the king, and ſuch ſuſpicions raiſed of him and his friends, as might force them to ſome injuries which hitherto they forbore, and by ſecuring themſelves increaſe the public fears.

When the minds of men were thus made ſolicitous concerning dangers from the king, to make them more pliable and ductile, there was repreſented to them an inevitable anger of Heaven againſt the preſent ſtate of things both in church and ſtate, teſtified by many prodigies that were related,

related, and portentuous preſages of ruin. Certain prophecies from unknown oracles were divulged, which enigmatically deſcribed the king as a monſter, and from ſuch a prince muſt proceed a change of government.

This was done to temper the minds of men by a ſuperſtition for a guidance of their miniſters, who being conceived to be the embaſſadors of Heaven, were ſuppoſed to have it in their commiſſion, to declare the conditions of war and peace: and theſe, either through the ſame weakneſs capable of the like terrors with the vulgar, or corrupted, as ſome were, by the careſſes and gainful hopes the faction allured them with, juſtified their fears, and increaſed them by applying ſome obſcure prophecies in Scripture to the preſent times and people; compared the pretended corruptions of our church with the idolatries of Iſrael, and whatſoever was condemned in the Holy Records was parallelled with the things they diſliked here; and all the curſes that God poured out upon his irreconcileable and obdurate enemies, were denounced againſt ſuch as differed from them, or would not join with the faction.

To make theſe harangues more efficacious, the authors of them were exalted by the demagogues, who appropriated to ſuch teachers the titles of ſaints, faithful miniſters, precious men; and they, on the other ſide, made a return of epithets to their maſters, of the ſervants of the Moſt High, ſuch as were to do the work of the Lord; that by their counſels men were to expect new heavens and a new earth; that they were men that ſhould prepare the kingdom for Jeſus Chriſt, and lay the foundations of the empire of the ſaints, which was to laſt a thouſand years.

To

To make the cry yet louder, they permitted all ſects and hereſies a licence of public profeſſion, and permitted the office of teaching to every bold and ignorant undertaker; ſo that, at laſt, the dregs of the people uſurped that dignity, and women, who had parted with the modeſty of their ſex, would not only ſpeak, but alſo rule in the church.

While all theſe methods of ruin were preparing here, the ſame anger of God, the ſame madneſs of men, raiſed up another tempeſt in Ireland: for the popiſh lords and prieſts of Ireland, who were the prime compoſers of the tragedies there, were encouraged by the ſucceſs of the Scots, who, by a proſperous rebellion had procured for themſelves ſuch large privileges, to an imitation, which the preſent jealouſies in England promiſed to be ſecure. And they had an happy opportunity by the vacancy in government, by the death of the earl of Strafford, with whom the Iriſh lords, while they proſecuted him in England, had removed all thoſe other inferior magiſtrates that were moſt ſkilful in the affairs of that kingdom, by accuſing to the faction ſome of them of treaſon, and others of an inclination to the earl, and had got preferred to their charges ſuch as were either altogether unacquainted with the genius of that people, or favourers of the conſpiracy.

A ſtrength they had alſo ready; for thoſe eight thouſand which had been liſted for the Scottiſh expedition were unſeaſonably diſbanded, and the king, in foreſight they might cauſe ſome miſchief in their own country, had therefore promiſed four thouſand of them to the king of Spain, yet would not the parliament conſent to their departure, becauſe, as the Iriſh lords ſuggeſted, it would diſpleaſe the king of France; and, when the king promiſed

promiſed to ſend as many to the French camp, that likewiſe was not reliſhed. The common ſoldiers of that army being thus rendered uſeleſs, were eaſily drawn into the rebellion, although very few of their officers were polluted with the crime,

The Iriſh lords and prieſts being allured by theſe our vices, and theſe opportunities, began their rebellion on the twenty-third of October. The Iriſh, throughout that whole kingdom on a ſudden invading the unprepared Engliſh that were ſcattered among them, deſpoiling them of their eſtates, goods, and many thouſands of their lives, without any reſpect of ſex, age, kindred, or friendſhip, and made them as ſo many ſacrifices to their bloody ſuperſtition. They had like to have ſurprized Dublin: but their conſpiracy being detected there, and in ſome few other places, the Engliſh name and intereſt was preſerved in that kingdom till they could receive aſſiſtance from hence.

The king had the firſt intelligence of it, in its very beginnings, in Scotland; and thereupon ſent ſir James Stuart to the lords of the privy-council in Ireland, to acquaint them with his knowledge, and inſtructions, and to carry all that money that his preſent ſtores could ſupply. Beſides, he urged the parliament of Scotland, as being neareſt, to a ſpeedy help; who declined their aid, becauſe Ireland was dependant upon the crown of England. At the ſame time alſo he ſent poſt to the parliament of England; which treated him with ſtill greater diſreſpect, the faction applauding their fortune, that new troubles were ariſen to moleſt the king, and that the royal power being thus aſſaulted in all three nations, there muſt ſhortly ariſe ſo many new commonwealths. Beſides that it yielded freſh

matter

matter of reproach to his majeſty, to whoſe counſels at firſt ſecretly they whiſpered, and at laſt publicly imputed that horrid maſſacre. Which ſlanders were coloured by the arts of the Iriſh rebels, who, to diſhearten the Engliſh from any reſiſtance, bragged that the queen was with their army; that the king would come amongſt them with auxiliary forces; that they did but maintain his cauſe againſt the puritans; that they had the king's commiſſion for what they did, producing indeed a patent that themſelves had drawn, but therto was affixed an old broad-ſeal that had been taken from an obſolete patent out of Farnham abby, by one Pluncket, in the preſence of many of their lords and prieſts, as was afterwards atteſted by the confeſſion of many. That the Scots were in confederacy with them, to beget a belief of which, they abſtained from the lives and fortunes of thoſe of that nation among them.

On the other ſide, to encourage the natives of their own party, they produced fictitious letters, wherein they were informed from England that the parliament had paſſed an act, that all the Iriſh ſhould be compelled to the proteſtant worſhip; that for the firſt offence they ſhould forfeit all their goods, for the ſecond their eſtates, and for the third their lives. Beſides, they flattered them with the hopes of liberty; that the Engliſh yoke ſhould be ſhaken off; that they would have a king of their own nation; and that the goods and eſtates of the Engliſh ſhould be divided among the natives: and with theſe hopes of ſpoil and liberty, the Iriſh were driven to ſuch a fury, that they committed ſo many horrid and barbarous acts of cruelty, as ſcarce any age or people were ever guilty of.

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In the mean while, nothing was done for the relief of the poor Engliſh there, but only ſome votes paſſed againſt the rebels, till the king returned to London, which was about the end of November; where he, with the queen and the prince were magnificently feaſted by the citizens, and the chief of them afterwards by him at Hampton-court: for he never neglected any honeſt arts to acquire his people's love; to which they were naturally prone enough, had not his enemies methods and ſuggeſtions depraved their genius. But this much troubled the faction, who envied that reverence to majeſty in others which was not in themſelves, and they endeavoured to make this love ſhort and unhappy; for they diſcountenanced the chief promoters of this honour to the king, and were more eager to render him odious: for having gotten a guard about them, they likewiſe inſinuated into the people dangerous apprehenſions as the cauſe of that guard, and every day grew more nice and jealous of their priviledges and power.

The king's advice to more tenderneſs of his prerogative, or his complaints of the ſcandalous ſpeeches that were uttered in their houſe, they interpreted as encroachments on their grandeur, and upbraided the king for them in their petitions to him.

The king therefore, not always to encourage this violence with patience, but at laſt by a courſe of juſtice to take off thoſe whom he had found to be the authors of theſe deſtructive counſels, the grand movers of theſe ſeditious practices; commanded his attorney-general to accuſe five members of the houſe of commons, and one of the lords, upon articles of high-treaſon, to be tried according to the laws of the land.

This being related to the houſe of commons, they were ſo far from admitting the king's charge againſt them, that they accuſed him of breach of priviledge, and voted all thoſe guilty of enmity to the commonwealth that ſhould obey the king in any of his commands concerning them.

This oppoſition ſo far moved the king, that he himſelf, with about an hundred lords and gentlemen, and their followers, went to the houſe of commons; where, commanding his attendants to move no further than the ſtairs, to offer no violence, nor return any uncivil language to any, although provoked, himſelf with the paltſgrave only entered the houſe, and demanded that the incendiaries might be delivered into his hands, with whom he promiſed to deal no otherwiſe than according to law. But they whom he ſought, being before informed of the king's coming, by the ſecret intelligence of the marquis of Hamilton and a court lady, had forſook the place, and withdrawn themſelves into the ſanctuary of the city. Wherefore the king, having renewed his charge, without injury to any immediately departed.

But the faction would not let him ſo reſt, but proſecuted this attempt of his with all the clamours that they poſſibly could raiſe; ſpread the ſparks of diſſention far and wide; made the common people mad with fears and diſtractions; ſtirred up ſome in ſeveral counties to bring petitions for the impeached members and their violated privileges; and at laſt prepared an armed rabble to bring the accuſed demagogues to the houſe from their coverts in London.

This coming to the knowledge of the king, he reſolved to withdraw himſelf, with the queen and their children, to Windſor, that he might permit their fury to languiſh when it had no oppoſition.

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The king's wiſdom was perceived by his enemies, and therefore, to counterwork it, and not to let the people ſleep without fear, leſt they ſhould return to the love of obedience, ſtrange reports were every day brought of dangers from the king; that troops of papiſts were gathered about Kingſton upon the Thames, where the county magazine was lodged, under the command of the lord Digby, who was known to be a papiſt, and colonel Lunsford, who was reported to be of ſo monſtrous an appetite that he would eat children: and parties were ſent to take them both, which found no ſuch dreadful preparations.

At other times, when the people on the Lord's days were at divine worſhip, they were interrupted in it by alarms, that the papiſts were up in arms, and were juſt then about to fire their houſes, and mix their blood with their prayers: that there were forces kept in grotts and caves under ground, that ſhould in the night break out in the midſt of the city, and cut all their throats.------Thus were the people taught to hate their prince, and, by bloody news from every quarter, they were inſtructed to that cruelty which they vainly feared, and to adore thoſe by whoſe counſels they were delivered from ſo unexpected dangers.

However, the king ſoon after was pleaſed to conſent that they might ſend over an army of ten thouſand Scots into Ireland, and deliver unto them the ſtrong town and port of Carickfergus, one of the chief keys of that kingdom; which was done to oblige the Scots to them in their future deſigns. He was alſo pleaſed to wave the proſecution of the impeached members, and was willing to grant a free and general pardon for all his ſubjects, as the parliament ſhould think convenient.

But all this could not ſatisfy them, and they were more diſcontented that they could not uſurp the king's rights, than if they had loſt their own priviledges. Therefore, to bring the lord's to a concurrence with them, the hitherto proſperous art of tumultuous petitions was again practiſed, and great numbers were brought from ſeveral counties to ſhake the fundamental conſtitutions of their houſe, and to require that neither the biſhops nor the popiſh lords ſhould continue in their ancient right to vote among the peers.

The moſt common anſwer was, that the houſe of commons were juſt now in conſideration thereof. The petitioners were taught to reply, that they doubted not of the care of the commons houſe, but all their diſtruſt was in the houſe of lords, where the popiſh lords and biſhops had the greateſt power. The names of theſe they deſired to know; and in this they were ſo very earneſt, that they would not willingly withdraw whilſt it was debated, and then they had leave to depart with this anſwer, That the houſe of commons had already endeavored relief from the lords in their requeſts, and ſhould ſo continue till redreſs be obtained. Such petitions as theſe came likewiſe from the ſeveral claſſes of the inferior tradeſmen about London; as porters, watermen, and even women were perſuaded to preſent their petitions to the ſame effect.

Moreover, to make the king more plyable, they ſpread a report that they intended to impeach the queen of high-treaſon. This rumour made the deeper impreſſion, becauſe they had raiſed moſt prodigious ſlanders againſt her; and when they had removed all other counſellors from the king, ſhe was famed to be the rock upon which all hopes of peace and ſafety were ſplit: that ſhe commanded

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no leſs his counſels than affections, and that his weakneſs was ſo great, as not to conſent to or undertake any thing which ſhe did not approve: that ſhe had perverted him to her religion, and formed deſigns of overthrowing the proteſtant faith. But the parliament taking notice of the report, ſent ſome of their houſe to excuſe themſelves, alledging it to be an unjuſt ſcandal caſt upon them.

But the king, knowing how uſual it was for the faction, by tumults and other practices, to tranſport the parliament from their juſt intentions in other things, and that they might do ſo in this, reſolved to ſend her into Holland, under colour of accompanying their eldeſt daughter, newly married to the prince of Orange; but, in reality, to ſecure her; ſo that, by the fears of her danger, he might not be forced to any thing contrary to his honour and conſcience; and that her affections and relation to him might not betray her life to the malice of his enemies. With her alſo he ſent all the jewels of the crown, that they might not be the ſpoils of the faction, but the means of the ſupport of her dignity in foreign parts, if his neceſſities afterwards ſhould not permit him to provide for her otherwiſe.

The king haſtened the ſecurity of the queen, and accompanied her as far as Dover, there to take his farewell of her. While he was committing her to the mercy of the winds and waves, that ſhe might eſcape the cruelty of more unquiet and faithleſs men, they perſecuted him with addreſſes, and at Canterbury preſented him with a bill for taking away biſhops votes in parliament. Which having been caſt out of the houſe of peers ſeveral times before, ought not, by the courſe and order of parliament, to have been admitted again the ſame ſeſſion. But the faction had now recourſe to

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their accuſtomed engine, a tumult, and it was then paſſed by the houſe of lords, and brought to Dover, together with ſome obſcure threats, that if it was not ſigned, the queen ſhould not be ſuffered to depart.

This his majeſty ſigned, in hopes that that bill being once conſented to, the fury of the faction, which with ſo great violence purſued an abſolute deſtruction of the eccleſiaſtical government, would be abated. But he ſoon found the demagogues had not ſo much candour as to be compounded with; and they made this but a ſtep to the overthrow of that which he deſigned to preſerve.

The king's enemies having ſoon after made an attempt to ſeize upon the prince, he retired with him and the duke of York, and immediately removed to Theobalds in order to his journey towards the north, where he intended to fix his abode, till he ſaw what iſſue this ſtorm would produce.

While the king thus provided for his liberty, the faction proceeded to uſurp the militia, which his majeſty had denied, and the lords were aſhamed to aſk: therefore they privately encouraged their partizans in all the cities and boroughs where they were moſt powerful, to appoint muſters, to arm and train their youth, and form them into companies; which afterwards they moved the lower houſe to vote legal, and to make an order, in the name of the parliament, for the conſtituting of deputies to the ſame purpoſe in every county: and at laſt, by the tumults which they raiſed, the threats they uſed to divulge the names of the diſſenting lords, and ſecret promiſes to ſome others, they prevailed upon the houſe of peers, when many of the moſt eminent were abſent, to join in a petition for the militia, upon pretence of great dangers at home, and more prodigious terrors from abroad,

pretending

pretending that by intelligence from Paris, Rome and Venice, they were aſſured of great deſigns to overthrow the parliament, together with the proteſtant religion. He propoſed to them expedients whereby they might be aſſociated with him in the power of the militia, which honour and conſcience forbad him to diveſt himſelf wholly of, and paſſionately conjured them to lay aſide their vain and empty terrors.

But they, deſpiſing his indulgence, and neglecting his admonitions, the next day, in furious votes, declared themſelves ſole maſters of the militia; and to make the people believe there was much truth in their falſe fears, they commanded ſtrict watches to be kept in all ſuſpected places, beacons to be ſet up, the ſea-marks to be watched, and the navy to be new rigged and fitted for the ſea. New plots were alſo diſcovered, and ſtrange and unheard of deſigns to murder the moſt eminent patriots were brought to light.

Leſt the king ſhould, at his coming into the north, make uſe of the magazine at Hull, for his own defence, the faction, to ſecure that and the town for their future purpoſes, ſent down ſir John Hotham, without any order or commiſſion from either houſe of parliament, to ſeize on them. This man, when the king, petitioned by the gentlemen of Yorkſhire to employ thoſe arms and that ammunition for the ſafety and peace of that county, on the twenty-third of April, 1642, inſolently ſhut the gates upon him, and would not permit him to enter, though with but twenty attendants; for he offered to leave the guard of noblemen and gentlemen who followed him without.

The king thereupon proclaimed him traitor, and, by letters complained of the indignity, and required ſatisfaction. But the faction repreſented

the act as ſo glorious, that the houſe of commons, by their votes, approved what he had done without their command, and declared that the king had done them an injury, in proclaiming ſo innocent a member traitor. Ordered the earl of Warwick, to whom they had committed the command of the navy, to land ſome men out of the ſhips at Hull, and to tranſport the magazine there from thence to London. An order of aſſiſtance was alſo given to ſeveral of their confidents, as a committee of both houſes to reſide at Hull, and the counties of York and Lincoln, were commanded to execute their commands. Beſides, they ſent a commiſſion to Hotham, to continue the inſolencies he had begun, and kindle that war which ſet fire to the whole nation, and in a ſhort ſpace conſumed him and his ſon, who were executed by the inſtructors of his villany.

The inſolence of Hotham, and the practices of the committee, which were ſent down into the north, to debauch the people in their loyalty, made the king intend his own ſecurity by a guard; which the gentry and commonalty of Yorkſhire, who were witneſſes of the injury offered to their prince, willingly and readily made up. No ſooner had the king expreſſed his intention of ſuch a guard, but the faction took this occaſion to commence our miſeries, and open thoſe ſluces of blood which polluted the whole kingdom: for upon the firſt intelligence of it they filled the houſe of commons and the city with clamours, That his majeſty had now taken arms to the overthrow of them and the proteſtant religion; and that they were not any longer to think the happineſs of the kingdom depended upon the king, or any of the regal branches of that ſtock; that it would argue no want either of duty or modeſty, if they ſhould depoſe him.

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By theſe harangues they ſo heated the parliament that they reſolved upon the queſtion, That the king, by taking to himſelf ſuch a guard, did intend to levy war againſt the parliament. With an equal fury they iſſued out commiſſions into all parts of the kingdom, and appointed certain days for all the trained bands to be put into a poſture of war, ſending down ſome of their members to ſee to the execution of theſe commands, and to ſeize on the magazines in the ſeveral counties.

To all theſe their violent and unjuſt attempts, the king firſt oppoſed the law, in ſeveral declarations manifeſted the power of arms to be the ancient and undoubted right of the crown, by many proclamations, charged all men, under the crime and penalties of treaſon, to forbear the execution of thoſe ordinances which were publiſhed to licence their rebellion, and anſwered all the fictitious pretenſions of the parliament to that power, in their ſeveral remonſtrances. But though the king had, in the judgment of all underſtanding, and diſintereſted perſons, the juſter cauſe, and the more powerful pen, yet the faction's haſte, which is moſt efficacious in civil diſcords; the ſlanders they had raiſed againſt him, and impreſſed in the minds of the people; the terrors of that arbitrary power which the houſe of commons had a long time exerciſed in the vexatious proſecutions of all ſuch as oppoſed their imperious reſolves, and the hopes of licence and ſpoil in the ruin of church and ſtate, had ſo poſſeſſed the minds of the inferior multitude, that neither law nor religion could have the leaſt influence on them.

Not long after, the faction ordered a collection to be made of money and p'ate, to maintain horſe, horſemen and arms for the enſuing war. The ſpecious pretences for which were, the ſafety of the king's

king's perſon, and the taking him out of the hands of evil counſellors; the defence of the priviledges of parliament; the preſervation of the proteſtant religion, and the maintenance of the ancient laws of the land.

Such inviting cauſes as theſe inflamed the minds of the multitude, and filled them with more airy hopes of victory than the noiſe of drums and trumpets: but what was moſt powerful, were the ſermons of ſuch who, being diſpleaſed with the preſent eccleſiaſtical government, were promiſed the richeſt benefices, and a partage of the revenue which belonged to biſhops, deans, and chapters. Theſe from their pulpits proclaimed war in the name of Chriſt, the prince of peace; and whatſoever was contributed to the ſpilling of the blood of the wicked, was to build up the throne of the meekeſt lamb; and, beſides the ſatisfaction they were to expect from the public faith, which the parliament promiſed, there was a larger intereſt to be doubled upon them in the kingdom of ſaints, that was now approaching.

Deluded by theſe artifices and impoſtures, people of all conditions and all ſexes, ſome carried by inſtinct, others hurried by ſome furious zeal, and a laſt ſort led by covetouſneſs, caſt into this holy treaſury the banck for blood, all the ornaments of their family, all their ſilver veſſels, even to their ſpoons, with the pledges of their firſt love, their marriage-rings; and the younger females ſpared not their thimbles and bodkins, the obliging gifts of their inamorato's, from being a part of the price of blood. But while theſe preparations were made at London, the king at York declared againſt the ſcandal, that he intended to levy war againſt the parliament, calling God to witneſs how far his deſires and thoughts were from it.

But

But all was in vain, for the faction choſe that the people ſhould be rather guilty of committing rebellion, than only of favouring the contrivers of it; and decreed to try whether, by a proſperous ſucceſs, they could change their crimes to virtue. Therefore they haſtened all they could to raiſe horſe and foot to form an army equal to their uſurpation: which was not difficult for them to do; for they, being maſters of London, whoſe multitudes, deſirous of innovations, were eaſily amaſſed for any enterprize, twenty thouſand were ſooner gathered than the king could get five hundred. The city alſo could afford them more ordnance than the king could promiſe to himſelf common muſkets; and to pay their ſoldiers, beſides the vaſt ſums that were gathered for Ireland, and the contributions of the deluded ſouls for this war; they ſeized alſo upon the revenues of the king, queen, prince, and biſhops, and plundered the houſes of thoſe lords and gentlemen whom they ſuſpected to be attached to the king's cauſe.

Thus was the king compelled to war, and his ſtrength ſo far encreaſed, that he won many battles, and was not far from conqueſt, had not God thought proper to afflict this ſinful nation with numerous and moſt impious tyrants, and make us feel, that no oppreſſions are ſo unſupportable as thoſe which are impoſed by ſuch as have made the higheſt pretenſions to liberty.

The firſt battle was fought at Edge-hill, on the twenty-third of October; for the king had no ſooner gotten a conſiderable force, though not equal to thoſe of his enemies, but he marched towards London, and in his way thither met with Eſſex's army, that was come from thence to take him. Night concluded this battle, which had concluded the war, had not the king's prevailing horſe

horſe preferred the ſpoils to victory, and left the enemy ſome advantage to diſpute for her. But the king had all the faireſt marks of her favour: for though he had loſt his general, yet he kept the field, poſſeſſed the dead bodies, opened his way toward London, and in the ſight of ſome part of the army of Eſſex took Banbury, and marched triumphantly into Oxford, with one hundred and fifty colours taken in fight. Having ſecured that place he advanced towards London, whither Eſſex had gotten before him, and diſpoſed his defeated regiments within ten miles of the city; yet the king fell upon two regiments of them at Brainford, took five hundred priſoners, and ſunk their ordnance. After this he retired to Oxford, and a treaty of peace was propoſed, but rendered abortive by the faction.

In the year 1643, at the opening of the ſpring, the queen came to England, bringing with her ſome conſiderable ſupplies of men, money, and ammunition; and her coming was attended with ſuch a ſeries of ſucceſſes, that the king that ſummer was maſter of the north and weſt, except ſome few garriſons. Which ſo diſmayed the parliament, that very many of them were preparing to quit the kingdom; and, had the king adhered to his own opinion, to march immediately towards London, and not been fatally perſuaded at a council of war, firſt to attempt Glouceſter, he had in the judgment of all diſcerning men, then finiſhed the war with glory. But here he lay till Eſſex had gotten a recruit from London, and came time enough to relieve the town; though in his return the king obliged him to fight, worſted him near Newbery, and ſo bravely followed him the next day, that he forced the parliament's horſe, which were left in the rear to ſeek their ſafety by making their way over a great part of their foot; yet loſt,

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on his ſide, much noble blood, as the earls of Carnarvon and Sunderland, and viſcount Falkland.

After this encounter the king returned to Oxford, to conſult with thoſe members of both houſes that had left the tumults at London to join with him for the common benefit, who being, as to the peers, the far greater, and, as to the commons, an equal number, with thoſe at Weſtminſter, aſſumed the name and authority of parliament, and deliberated of the ways of peace, and means to prevent the deſolations which the faction ſo furiouſly deſigned, who were now reſolving to encreaſe our miſeries by calling in the Scots to their aſſiſtance.

Though they pretended ſo highly to God's cauſe, as if they had the certainty of ſome divine revelation, yet they would not truſt him for their preſervation, notwithſtanding their pretences to his cauſe had furniſhed them with ſo vaſt a treaſure and ſo mighty a ſtrength; but would invite others to the violation of moſt ſacred oaths, to ſin againſt all laws and every rule of juſtice, that themſelves might be ſecure in their uſurpations: and that perfidious party that then ruled in Scotland, hoping for as great advantages as their former wickedneſs had yielded, contrary to all obligations which the king's goodneſs had laid on them, drew that people once more into rebellion againſt their prince; and to make them more eager, and think the enterprize eaſy, they firſt raiſed a report that the king was deſerted by moſt of his nobility.

The parliament at Oxford having by a letter moved the earl of Eſſex to endeavour peace, alſo declared againſt this invaſion of the Scots by another letter ſent to them; in which alſo they acquainted them with the falſeneſs of their officious lie, and ſhewed how inconſiderable a number of lords

lords were with thoſe that invited them in. The king himſelf wrote alſo to put them in mind of their ſeveral engagements to be quiet: but they commanded the letters to be burned by the hand of the hangman.

A more ſecret falſhood he found in the marquis of Hamilton, whoſe treaſons now came to be more ſuſpected: for his majeſty having written to him, to uſe all his power and intereſt to keep his countrymen at home, he, by ſome ſecret arts, more inflamed them; and to cover his perfidiouſneſs, fled from Scotland to Oxford, as ſeeking a ſhelter for his loyalty; but indeed to be a ſpy in the king's counſels. But his treaſons had outſtripped him and his brother, the earl of Lanerick, who came with him; therefore they were forbidden the court.

But the diſhonour of that nation was in a great meaſure repaired by the gallantry and faithfulneſs of the marquis of Montroſs, who being commiſſioned by the kin, with an incredible induſtry, by ſmall numbers of men, won many battles, and overthrew well-formed armies: and, had not the fate of his maſter, which was to be betrayed by thoſe he truſted, been likewiſe common to him, he had forced that nation to juſtice and quiet.

But before Montroſs could get his commiſſion, the Scots were entered England, and many arts were uſed to render their coming odious to the people.

By theſe arts and ways was the winter ſpent to prepare for the attempts of the following ſummer, wherein, in the year 1644, though the parliament's forces encreaſed by the Scottiſh ſuccours, had the ſucceſs over ſeveral bodies of the royaliſts, yet that ſmall number that followed the king's perſon, nd

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were guided by his own counſels and example, obtained two great victories. For his majeſty having once more provided for the ſafety of the queen, in ſending her to Exeter, there to lay down the burden of her love, and from thence to ſeek for ſhelter in France, taken his laſt farewell of her, and left Oxford ſtrengthened againſt the ſiege which the earl of Eſſex and ſir William Waller threatned that place with, he, with a ſmall party, drew out, intending to form his counſels according to the future occurrences.

This made the enemy divide, and Eſſex was deſigned to reduce the weſt. But Waller, with whom uſually went ſir Arthur Heſilrigge, a perſon fitter to raiſe ſeditious tumults than manage armies, was to hunt the king upon the mountains of Wales, towards which he ſeemed to direct his courſe. But hearing of the reſolutions of theſe two jealous generals, he wheeled about to Oxford, and from thence drew the greateſt part of the garriſon, and with that falling upon Waller at Cropredy-bridge, obtained a great victory, which would have been more prejudicial to the enemy, had not the tenderneſs of his ſubjects blood reſtrained him from proſecuting his ſucceſs to a greater ſlaughter, But contenting himſelf to have diverted injuries from his own breaſt, he only uſed this victory for an advantage to peace, which, in a letter from Eveſham, on the fourth of July, he moved the parliament unto.

But the unquiet criminals rendered it vain and fruitleſs, and repreſented to their people the yet prevailing forces in the north, and their army in the weſt, which had now taken in ſo conſiderable places to their obedience. Therefore, to remove their confidence in Eſſex's power, the king followed him, and ſo cloſely purſued him, that he drove

drove him up into Cornwall, and there, as it were, beſieged him. During which he ſent a letter to him, which was ſeconded by another from the lords and gentlemen in his army, to ſolicit his endeavours for the peace and quiet of the bleeding and waſted kingdom. But it had not its deſired effect, becauſe that earl either valued not the ſolid glory of being the happy author of a nation's ſettlement; or feared that his paſt actions had wholly deſpoiled him of hopes of ſecurity in a return to obedience, or knew that his authority was not ſo great to put an iſſue to thoſe crimes which he had led others to commit. Which laſt was generally believed, for he had found and complained that his credit declined with the faction. Therefore making no return to thoſe letters, he provided for his own ſafety in a cock-boat, and ignominiouſly deſerted his army; of which the horſe, taking advantage of a dark night, made their eſcape: but the commanders of the foot capitulated for their lives, and left their arms, cannon, baggage and ammunition, to the diſpoſal of the king.

After this victory, by a letter from Taveſtock, on the eighth of September, he ſeconded that from Eveſham for an accord with the parliament; but finding this meſſage had the ſame reception with the former, and that the faction intended not to ſacrifice their ill-acquired power and uſurped intereſts to the public tranquillity, he roſe from thence, and marched towards London; from whence were by this time in the way to meet him Eſſex and Waller recruited, and joined with the earl of Mancheſter's forces that were now returned from their northern ſervices: and at Newbery both ſides joined in an eager fight; the ſucceſs of which was undecided.

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The king being returned to Oxford, the parliament, wearied with the complaints of the oppreſſed nation, who now grew impatient under the diſtractions, took into conſideration his majeſty's two meſſages for peace, and ſent propoſitions for it in the name of the two parliaments of England and Scotland, united by ſolemn league and covenant. Which, though they ſeemed the deſires of minds that intended nothing leſs than the common tranquillity, yet the king neglected them not; but, hoping that in a treaty, commiſſioners might argue them into reaſon, offered it, which, with much difficulty the houſes were drawn to accept; but yet would have it at Uxbridge, a place but about fifteen miles diſtant from London, and above twice that diſtance from Oxford: and accordingly commiſſioners from both parties met on the thirtieth of January.

While the king was providing for the treaty, and forming inſtructions for his miniſters, the faction found the parliament other work by new deſigns; and, to habituate the people to an abhorrence of peace, fed them with blood. The two Hothams firſt were to be the ſport of the multitude; and, that the father might have more than a ſingle death, he was drawn back in his journey to the ſcaffold, on the thirty-firſt of December, that his ſon might be executed before him, as he was on the firſt of January; when, after he had expreſſed his fury to thoſe maſters whom they had ſerved to their ruins, his head was chopped off: and, on the ſecond of January, the father was brought to the place that was defiled with his ſon's blood, and had his own added to it. ----Archbiſhop Laud was executed immediately after theſe.

About this time the faction clove into two ſects, the preſbyterian and independant; which hitherto had been united under one name of patriots, or godly, and had jointly conſpired war and diſturbed the peace. For they would either early in the morning, before the houſe was full, or late at night, when thoſe whoſe cares were moſt for the public were abſent, being aſſured of the ſpeaker, propoſe and vote what ſerved for their deſign. If any thing contrary to it was about to be reſolved in a full aſſembly, they, by multitude of ſcruples, would ſo diſturb the debates, that the determination was deferred to a deſired opportunity. But if theſe failed, then would they ſurprize the houſe with another vote that ſhould weaken and hinder the execution of the former. When the moſt conſcientious were too numerous for them, then would they find means to ſend the leſs pliant to their wills into the country. Thus the leſſer, but more induſtrious, party circumvented the greater, that were not ſo wary or diligent.

While they thus jointly contrived the public ruin, they had gotten themſelves into the moſt conſiderable and profitable offices of the kingdom. But the preſbyterians, having the advantage in number and power, and the diſſention in their opinions growing ſtill higher, by the animoſities of the inferior and obſcurer parts of their ſects, there was neither faith nor love among them, but what fear and neceſſity did force them to. The independents, who comprehended all the ſeveral herds of heretics, anabaptiſts, ſeekers, millenaries, &c. though they were the diſciples of the other, yet excelled their maſters in art and induſtry, had their private juntos and meetings apart to mould their projects, and aſſign to each of their confidents

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their ſeveral ſcenes and methods; and, by proper applications to mens ſeveral humours, had exceedingly encreaſed their ſtrength in the multitude, only they wanted the power of the ſword, and the moſt uſeful offices, to perfect their empire.

This they effected by thoſe very practices they had learned from the preſbyterians; and by procuring the ordinance of ſelf-denial, as they called it, they turned out Eſſex from his generalſhip, and with him all thoſe other leaders that were favourers of the presbytery, under pretence that it was not fit that any members of the parliament ſhould be encouraged to a continuance of the war by enjoying the profitable and powerful offices in the army, to which they would now give a new form.

Having by this artifice diſplaced thoſe whoſe power they feared, they brought in as many candidates of their own ſect as they could to be colonels, and ſir Thomas Fairfax was appointed general. This man was the more acceptable to both parties, becauſe he was known to be of ſufficient perſonal valour, and of no private deſigns, obſtinate by a natural melancholy, rather than pertinacious in any intereſt, and rather free from baſeneſs, than ambitious of vain-glory. By all theſe qualities they ſuppoſed he would be obedient to the reſolves of his maſters. But the independants, that were better informed of his flexible ſpirit, and how eaſily he might be impoſed upon by a ſpecies of religion, got the great patron of all the ſectaries, Oliver Cromwell, at firſt to be admitted into his counſels, and afterwards to be the director of all his actions, under the title of lieutenant-general: for, though he likewiſe, by the ſelf-denying ordinance was made incapable of any office in the army, being a member of the parliament; yet thoſe troops of

fanatics whom he had amaſſed, and formerly led under the command of the lord Grey of Wark, and the earl of Mancheſter, were inſtructed to refuſe the conduct of any one but him. He was therefore permitted by the parliament, as the general deſired, for a time to continue in the army; but he never left it till he had changed that, ruined the parliament, and turned out the general, that thus was the author of his unlawful power.

With theſe tragedies and changes was the winter ſpent in London, while the king at Oxford waited for the iſſue of the treaty at Uxbridge, which, as all other conſultations for peace, was vain and fruitleſs; for the faction would always obſtruct thoſe endeavours by their uſual methods. Therefore the commiſſioners of parliament were inſtructed to offer no expedient for an accommodation, nor hearken to ſuch as were tendered to them in the name of the king.

His majeſty, ſeeing and bewailing his condition, that he muſt ſtill have to do with thoſe that were enemies to peace, prepared himſelf for war at the approaching ſpring; and, although this winter was infamous with many loſſes, either through the neglect or perfidiouſneſs of ſome officers; yet, before the ſeaſon for taking the field was come, his counſels and diligence had repaired thoſe damages.

In April, 1645, he ſent the prince to perfect the weſtern aſſociation, and raiſe ſuch forces as the neceſſities of the crown, which was his inheritance, required. With him was ſent, as moderator of his youth, and prime counſellor, ſir Edward Hide, afterwards lord high chancellor of England.

After their departure, the king drew out his army to relieve his northern counties and garriſons; but being on his march, and having ſtormed and taken

taken Leiceſter in his way, he was called back to ſecure Oxford, which the parliament army threatened with a ſiege. But Fairfax, having gotten a letter of the lord Goring's to his majeſty, wherein he had deſired him to forbear engaging with the enemy, till he could be joined by him; he left Oxford, and made directly towards the king, who was now come back as far as Daventry, with an intention to fight him before that addition of ſtrength; and, at a place near Naſeby, in Northamptonſhire, both armies met on Saturday the fourteenth of June, Cromwell having then alſo brought ſome freſh troops to Fairfax. Nevertheleſs, the king would not decline the battle, and had the bettter at firſt; but his vanquiſhing horſe following the chaſe of their enemies too far, left the foot open to the other wing, who preſſing hotly upon them, put them to an open rout; and ſo became maſters of his canon, camp and carriage, and, among theſe, of his majeſty's cabinet; in which they found many of his letters, moſt of them written to the queen; which they printed, that, by diſcovering his ſecret thoughts, deſigned only for the breaſt of his wife, to the debauched multitude, the popular hatred might be encreaſed. But the publication of them produced quite a contrary effect; every one that was not barbarous, abhorred that inhumanity among Chriſtians, which generous heathens ſcorned to be guilty of; and the letters diſcovered that the king was hitherto unjuſtly repreſented. Upon the whole, he grew greater in honour by this defeat, though he never after recovered any conſiderable power.

The fate of this battle had an inauſpicious influence upon all his remaining forces, and every day his loſſes were repeated; but, though fortune had left the king, yet had not his valour; therefore,

gathering up the remains of his ſcattered army, he marched up and down to encourage thoſe whoſe faith changed not with his condition. At laſt, attempting to relieve Cheſter, though he was beſet behind and before, and his horſe wearied in ſuch tedious and reſtleſs marches, yet at firſt he beat Poyntz off that followed: but being charged with freſh ſoldiers from the leaguer, and a greater number, he was forced to retreat, and leave ſome of his gallant followers dead upon the place.

After this, he drew towards the north-eaſt, and commanded the lord Digby, with the horſe that were left, to march for Scotland, and there to join with Montroſs, who, with an inconſiderable company of men, had got victories there ſo prodigious, that they looked like miracles. But this lord was ſurpriſed before he could get out of Yorkſhire; for his horſe having taken ſeven hundred of the enemy's foot, were ſo wanton with ſucceſs, that they were eaſily maſtered by another party, and he himſelf was compelled to fly into Ireland.

Theſe ſeveral overthrows brought another miſchief along with them; diſcord ſoon prevailed among the king's officers: but many gallant perſons, whom loyalty and religion had drawn to his ſervice, endured the utmoſt hazards before they delivered the holds he had committed to their truſts, and by that means employing the enemies arms, gave the king time, who was at laſt returned to Oxford: to provide for his ſafety.

There he was greatly perplexed by the importunities of his own diſconſolate party to ſeek for conditions of peace, which he ſaw was in vain to expect would be ſuch as were fit to accept; for his former experience aſſured him, that theſe men would follow the counſels of their fortune, and be more inſolent now than ever; and for himſelf, he

he was reſolved not to ſacrifice his conſcience to ſafety, nor his honour to life.

But yet, to ſatisfy every one how tender he was of the common ſafety, he ſent ſeveral meſſages to the parliament for a treaty, and offered to come himſelf to London, if he might have ſecurity for himſelf and attendants. All which were either not regarded, or anſwered with reproaches: and, becauſe the people began to murmur at ſo great an earneſtneſs of the faction to continue the wounds of the nation open and bleeding, and it was the common belief that theſe men ſought for victory, not peace and liberty, which was now tendred; therefore, to raiſe ſuſpicions in the vulgar, it was ſuggeſted that the cavaliers who came to compound would take the advantage of the king's preſence, if he were permitted to be there, and kindle a new flame and war in the city.

The king finding theſe men irreconcileable to peace, and that they had declared againſt his coming, though without a caution, tried the leaders of the Engliſh army; but they proved no leſs pertinacious, and were now approaching to beſiege Oxford. Providence not leaving any more choice, but only ſhewing him a way for a preſent eſcape, he went in a diſguiſe to the Scotiſh camp that was now before Newark, where the embaſſador of the king of France, who was then in league, had before covenanted for his majeſty's ſafety and protection; and the Scottiſh officers had engaged to ſecure both him and as many of his party as ſhould ſeek for ſhelter with them, and to ſtand to him with their lives and fortunes.

In the year 1646, the king being come thither on the fourth of May, made a great alteration in affairs; Newark was ſurrendered by the king's command, and ſir Thomas Glemham, having

gallantly defended Oxford till the beſiegers offered honourable conditions, delivered up that alſo. But the greateſt change of counſels was at London, where, when it was related among whom the king had ſought a ſanctuary, various and different diſcourſes were raiſed.

While people diſcourſed thus of the king's journey, the parliament, heated by the independants, fircely declared againſt the Scots, who were removing the king to Newcaſtle, and uſed ſeveral methods to make them odious and drive them home. But the Scots themſelves for a time juſtified their reception and preſervation of his majeſty by the laws of nature, nations, and hoſpitality, which forbid the delivery and betraying of thoſe that have fled to any for ſuccour. The Democratic faction urged that it was not lawful for the Scots, their hirelings, and in their dominion, to receive the king into their camp without the leave of their maſters, and then to keep him without their conſent.

Theſe debates were uſed to raiſe the king's price: which, when the Scots were almoſt aſſured of, to make their ware more valuable, they ſollicited the king, to command Montroſs to depart from his noble undertakings in Scotland, where he had almoſt recovered the overthrow Roxbrough and Traquaire had betrayed him unto, and was become formidable again; as alſo the loyal marquis of Ormond to deſiſt from his gallatt oppoſitions both of the Iriſh rebels and Engliſh forces; which when the king had done, they tendered him the covenant; pretending, without that chain upon him, they did not dare to lead him into Scotland. This his majeſty refuſed not, if they would firſt remove thoſe ſcruples of church-government which lay upon his conſcience: therefore, to obviate that difficulty,

ficulty, maſter Henderſon, that was then the oracle of the kirk, and the great apoſtle of the ſolemn covenant, was employed to converſe with him: but the greatneſs of the king's parts, and the goodneſs of his cauſe, made all his attempts vain and unfortunate; for he returned home, and not long after died, as ſome report, of a grief contracted from his injuries to a prince whom he had found ſo excellent.

While theſe things were tranſacting at Newcaſtle, the bargain was ſtruck at London, and for two hundred thouſand pounds his majeſty, ſtripped of thoſe arms he had when he came among them, was delivered up to ſome commiſſioners from the parliament: but to palliate their perfidiouſneſs, they added this caution, That there ſhould be no attempt made upon the king's perſon, but being entertained at one of his own palaces, he ſhould there be treated with upon propoſitions from both nations, which ſhould ſpeedily be ſent to him. But the parliament never thought of ſending any propoſitions till he came under the power of the army, who had malicious deſigns upon his perſon.

The commiſſioners receiving him, conveyed him to his own houſe at Holmeby. This was a very curious and ſtately building, yet was not choſen becauſe it might be a majeſtic priſon; but becauſe it was within ſight of Naſeby, which was infamous with his overthrow, that ſo the neighbourhood to it might more afflict his grieved ſpirit. To this they added other hardſhips, by making the reſtraint ſo ſtrict that they ſuffered none to come near him, that by owning his cauſe were aſſured of their welcome; yea, even his chaplains were debarred from their miniſtery: but God ſupplied this want

want by more plentiful aſſiſtances of his holy ſpirit, and compoſed thoſe divine meditations and ſoliloquies that are in his book, ſpending that time in holy converſe with Heaven, which he was not ſuffered to employ with thoſe men in whom he delighted.

While the king's ſoul was thus raiſed above the walls of his priſon, they that had put an end to the war, yet could not find the way to peace; for their ſouls were unequal to the victory, and could not temper their ſucceſs, the two ſects falling to diſſention, and turning all their arts and arms one againſt another. The preſbyterians had the richer and more ſplendid followers; but the independants the moſt fierce, ſubtle, and moſt ſtrongly principled to confuſion: the firſt were powerful in the parliament, but the latter in the army.

The independents gained ground on their antagoniſts, making the presbyterians odious, by libels compoſed to render their government ridiculous and tyrannical, by putting them upon all the moſt invidious employments, as reforming the univerſities, and ſequeſtring miniſters that refuſed to take the covenant.

Not contented to deal thus with their elder brethren, by ſpoiling them of their honour, they proceeded to ſtrip them of the remains of their armed power, ſurpriſing them in parliament with a vote to disband all the ſoldiers that were not in Fairfax's army. Then the general turned out thoſe commanders of garriſons that were any way inclined to them. Beſides this, they either corrupted with gifts, or frighted ſome of the moſt buſy, yet obnoxious, presbyterians, either wholly to come over to them, or be the inſtruments in diſturbing and revealing the counſels of that party.

In

In the year 1647, the presbyterians at last awakened with the daily wounds of their power and the dishonour of their party, began now to be more afraid of their stipendaries than they were of their sovereign; for they found that they lost all that by the victory which they sought by the war: therefore, to break the confidence of the independents, and make themselves free, they voted in the parliament, where they had most voices, That to ease the commonwealth of the charges in maintaining the army, twelve thousand of the soldiers should be sent over to Ireland, and all the rest to be disbanded, except six thousand horse, two thousand dragoons, and six thousand foot, who should be placed in different and distant places in the nation, to prevent any insurrection.

The commanders and independents soon discovered the artifice, that it was not to ease the nation but weaken them; therefore they employed the inferior officers to possess the common soldiers with a fear of disbanding them without their arrears, or else to be sent into that unquiet island to perish with hunger and cold, and the surprizes of a treacherous enemy.

This presently set the army to mutiny, which raised the indignation of the commanders, who at first seemed busy to compose it; and Cromwell, to make the parliament secure, called God to witness, that he was assured the army would, at their first command, cast their arms at their feet; and again solemnly swore, that he had rather himself, with his whole family, should be consumed than that the army should break into sedition: yet, in the mean time, he and his creatures in the army administered new feuel to the flames of it; and when they had raised their fury to such heat that it was at last concocted to a perfect defection from all obedience

obedience to the parliament, they laid aſide their diſguiſes, and went poſt from London to the head quarters, where the ſynagogue of agitators was ſeated, and to whom was committed the management of this conſpiracy.

This conventicle was made up of two of the moſt factious in every regiment of foot, and each troop of horſe. Their buſineſs was to conſult the intereſt of the whole army; and when they had moulded their pretences and arts to their grand deſign, to inſtruct the ruder part of it in their clamours, and to corrupt all the garriſons by emiſſaries to the ſame enterpriſes. At laſt they extended their cares to the whole Britiſh empire, and dictated what their pleaſures were concerning England and Ireland: and, becauſe about an hundred officers in the army would not be forward in the ſedition, they were by this committee of adjutators, and the ſecret orders of the commanders, caſhiered.

Thus the deſigns of both parties being directed to overthrow the oppoſite, each thought the perſon and preſence of the king would be an advantage to them: therefore the presbyterians had it in conſultation, to order colonel Greves, who had the command of the guard about the king at Holmeby, to remove his majeſty to London: the the intelligence of which coming to the army by the treachery of a certain lord, they immediately ſent a body of horſe to prevent them, and to force him into their own quarters.

The independents, to tempt him to a confidence in their integrity, pretended to a compaſſionate ſenſe of his ſufferings, and complained of the parliament's barbarous impriſoning him in his own palaces, wondering they had no more reverence for majeſty, To get a belief of this, they profeſſed that they would never part with their arms till

till they had made his way to his throne, and rendered the condition of his party more tolerable. Beſides theſe promiſes they allowed him the miniſtery of his chaplains in the worſhip of God, the commerce of letters with the queen; the viſits of his own party, and the ſervice of his courtiers; ſome of whom they alſo admitted to their council of war; moulded propoſitions in his behalf, and altered them to the king's guſt and at his advice.

By all theſe impoſtures they prevailed nothing upon the hopes or fears of the king; nor did he commit any thing unworthy his former fortune, and the greatneſs of his integrity and wiſdom, or which any of the diſagreeing factions could turn to his reproach. But they found another kind of ſucceſs upon the parliament, for they ſacrificed to the commands of their ſtipendaries eleven members of the houſe of commons, and ſeven of the peers, cauſing them to forbear ſitting among them, becauſe they had been accuſed by the army in a very frivolous charge. Beſides this, they were ſo prone to ſlavery that they had gone on to vote all the luſts of the army, had not a tumult from London ſtopped them in their violent ſpeed, and kept the ſpeaker in his chair till they had voted more generouſly. That it was neither for their honour nor intereſt to ſatisfy the demands of the ſoldiers; and that the king ſhould come to London to treat.

Both parties then prepared for war. With the one hundred and forty members who ſat in parliament were joined the city, and the caſhiered officers and ſoldiers that had ſerved in their pay. With the army were the ſpeakers of both houſes, who had fled to them with about fifty of their members that projected the change of government, being either for an oligarchy or democracy.

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The advantage was clear on the army's ſide, which conſiſted of veteran ſoldiers, united among themſelves by a long converſe, and known commanders: but the force of the other was made up of a tumultary multitude, gathered under new leaders, and ſo had no mutual confidence. Therefore, in the very beginning, the parliament and city deſerted their enterprize, treated with, and opened their gates to the army, who marched in triumph through London, bringing the ſpeakers and their fellow-travellers to their chairs; ſeized upon the Tower, diſmantled the fortifications, pulled down all the chains and poſts of the city, ſent the lord-mayor and the chief citizens to the Tower, and reduced all the power of the nation in obedience to the commanders; for Fairfax was made general of all the forces both in England and Ireland; and Rainsbrough, a leveller, and a violent head of the democraticks, high-admiral.

The impeached presbyterians fled beyond ſea, others of the ſect drooping complied with the fortunes of the conquerors; and what grieved good men moſt, was a public thankſgiving to God appointed for the army; and they were entertained now at a feaſt, whom before the city would have forced from their walls.

The army having now the greateſt ſtrength of the nation, the parliament and city at their obedience, made no mention of their former promiſes to the king; only the adjutants were fierce for breaking the parliament, and calling another, as they called it, more equal repreſentative. But both their ſynagogue and the council of war, being now delivered from the fear of the presbyterians, began to contrive the deſtruction both of the king and monarchy. As for the king, whom they had now brought to Hampton-court, ſome that had before

before contrived his death, and to murder him while he was in the Scotch camp, yet could not then perform it, were now fierce for a ſpeedy and ſecret aſſaſſination by piſtol or poiſon. Others would have him tried and condemned by their council of war. But the chiefs thought fit to proceed more artificially in their crime; and when they ſhould get more authority, deſtroy him by a parliamentary way of juſtice.

To proceed therefore to their impiety, Cromwell and his creatures ſtickled fiercely in the houſe of commons, and cauſed the parliament to ſend, not conditions of peace to be treated on, but propoſitions, like commands, that admitted no diſpute; which if the king had yielded to, he had diveſted himſelf of majeſty, and been thought guilty of ſo much want of ſpirit, as would diſcover an unfitneſs for empire; beſides, ſuch a voluntary diminution would have been equally unſafe, as unglorious: and, if he did not, then he was to be eſteemed the only obſtacle of the univerſal peace. And, leſt the king ſhould put them to more tedious arts by ſigning them, they themſelves, to divert him, privately procured more ſoft articles, and profeſſed to be ſorry the presbyterian ſowerneſs ſtill leavened the houſe, which made theſe propoſitions ſo unpleaſant.

The king could not but perceive the practices of the army, yet being reſolved that no dangers whatſoever ſhould make him yield to thoſe unreaſonable demands of the parliament, which granted would have been the heavieſt oppreſſion on his ſubjects, and the greateſt injury to his poſterity, he could be guilty of: therefore, to make his denial of them advantageous to himſelf, by a ſeeming confidence in the army's offers, the king abſolutely rejected the parliament's propoſitions, and required

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the demands of the army as more equal and fit for a perſonal treaty, and that the army alſo ſhould nominate commiſſioners.

Cromwell and his accomplices ſeemed to be joyful for this anſwer of his majeſty, which had preferred them before their competitors to the honour of juſtice and moderation in the eyes of the people; but yet ſecretly they exaſperated the minds of the more ſhort-ſighted commons againſt the king for this affront: and to the king they profeſſed a ſhame and a trouble upon their ſpirits that they could not now perform their promiſes: ſometimes they excuſed themſelves by a reverence to the parliament, at other times by a fierceneſs of the adjutators; and when by theſe excuſes they had coloured their delays to ſome length, they began to interpret their ſayings otherwiſe than the king apprehended them, to forget what they had aſſured him of, and at laſt openly to refuſe any performance.

To all theſe perfidies, they added other frauds, to beget a fear in him of the adjutators and the levellers, who they informed him meditated his murder; profeſſed they could not for the preſent moderate their bloody and impetuous conſultations, but when they ſhould recover the loſt diſcipline of their army, then they might eaſily and ſpeedily fulfil their engagements to him.

To give credit to their words, the fury of the adjutators was blown to a more conſpicuous flame, their papers were publiſhed for a change of government, called, "The Caſe of the Army;" and "The Agreement of the People;" the inſolent expreſſion of Peters, and another of the ſame diabolical ſpirit, ſaying, His majeſty was but a dead dog, were divulged, and all were communicated to ſome attendants about the king, with an advice from

from the chiefs of the army to eſcape for his life; for they were unwilling he ſhould be killed while they looked on.

The fury and menaces of men of ſuch deſtructive and bloody principles, were not to be deſpiſed; nor was the king to abandon his life, if he could without ſin preſerve it to a longer waiting upon God. Therefore, with three of his moſt truſty attendants, in the dark, tempeſtuous and ominous night of the eleventh of November, he left Hampton-court, ſome ſay, uncertain where to ſeek ſafety; others, that he intended to take ſhip; but being diſappointed in his expectation, he was at laſt fatally led into the power, and, when he could not eſcape, committed himſelf to the loyalty and honour of colonel Hammond, a confident of Cromwell's, who had been but a little before made governor of the Iſle of Wight for this very purpoſe, and was by him conveyed to Carisbrook-caſtle, the very pit his enemies had deſigned for him: for it was diſcourſed in the army, above a fortnight before, that the king ere long would be in the Iſle of Wight; and the very night he departed from Hampton-court, the centinels were withdrawn from their uſual poſts, on purpoſe to facilitate his flight.

Being here in this falſe harbour, he minded that buſineſs which lay moſt on his heart, the ſettlement of the nation. He ſent conceſſions to the parliament more benign and eaſy than they could deſire or hope, together with his reaſons why he could not aſſent to their demands; and earneſtly ſollicited them to pity the languiſhing kingdom, and come to a perſonal treaty with him, on his conceſſions and the army's demands.

But the conſpirators, to cut off all hopes of a treaty, took this occaſion to ſend four preliminary articles, which if he would paſs as acts, they would treat of the reſt. Theſe were ſo unjuſt, that the Scotch commiſſioners, in the name of their kingdom, declared againſt them in public writings, and following the meſſengers of parliament to the Iſle of Wight, in the preſence of his majeſty proteſted againſt them, as contrary to the religion, the crown, and conſtitutions of both kingdoms.

The king, according to his wonted wiſdom and greatneſs of mind, preſently returned them an anſwer, to ſhew the injuſtice of having him grant the chief things before the treaty, which ſhould be the ſubject of it, and to give them ſuch an arbitrary power to the ruin of all people. This anſwer he delivered ſealed to their meſſengers, who deſired that they might hear it read, and that they might be dealt with as commiſſioners, not as bare carriers, and promiſed upon their honour that it ſhould not be any prejudice to him. But his majeſty had no ſooner read it, than they finding it not to the guſt of thoſe that ſent them, notwithſtanding the faith they had given, cauſed their juſt ſovereign to be kept cloſe priſoner, forced away his chaplains, Dr. Sheldon, ſince lord-biſhop of London, and Dr. Hammond; both which he highly valued for their integrity, wiſdom, piety and learning; and his other ſervants, even thoſe whom the parliament had placed formerly about him, and in whom his goodneſs had wrought both an affection and admiration of him, and permit none about him but ſuch as they hoped would be a watch upon him, and whoſe barbarous ſouls might trample on his fortune. Beſides, they ſet ſtrict guards at his doors and windows, leſt any letters might come to him, or be ſent from him.

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The like reception his letter found with the parliament; for Cromwell and his officers were reſolved to go on with their deſign; and having ſo long uſed the adjutators, as ſerved to frighten the king into the toils they had ſet, they ſoon quieted them, by executing ſome of their moſt pertinacious leaders; and, being free from that care, applied their practices wholly to the deſtruction of his majeſty. To this purpoſe they moulded the four votes for No Addreſſes to the King; but before they brought them into public, they ſent into their ſeveral counties about forty or fifty of the principal members, who they thought would oppoſe, to raiſe money for the ſoldiers. Nevertheleſs, the firſt of thoſe votes was conteſted ſo ſtrongly, that the debates laſted from ten o'clock in the morning till ſeven in the evening; and, though they thus wearied the more honeſt party, yet could it not paſs till the conſpirators had engaged that no worſe thing ſhould be done to the king. The remaining votes were diſpatched in half an hour's time, when thoſe of the more ſober principles were gone forth to refreſh themſelves, and the conſpirators ſtill kept their ſeats.

The houſe of peers were not ſo haſty in them as the commons had been, and their debates vexed the conſpirators with delays, till thoſe who were ſent by the army to thank the lower houſe for their conſent to theſe deſires of the ſoldiers, threatened the upper houſe for their long deliberations. Some new terrors were alſo added, for they quartered two of their regiments at White-Hall, under colour of guarding the parliament, but in reality to work upon the lords; which had its effect; for many that had the moſt honourable views in this buſineſs forſook the parliament, and then

three or four joined with the commons in their votes for no addreſſes.

This prodigious perfidiouſneſs in parliament and army, filled all men with amazement and indignation, to ſee how little they valued their faith, who pretended ſo high to religion; therefore each of them was obliged to ſatisfy common fame. Cromwell to ſome would have covered this impiety with another, that as he was praying for a bleſſing from God on his undertakings, to reſtore the king to his priſtine majeſty, his tongue cleaved to the roof of his mouth, that he could not ſpeak one word more; which he took as a return of prayer, and that God had rejected him from being king. To others he impudently aſſerted, That it was lawful to circumvent a wicked man with deceit and frauds.

The conſpirators in the parliament ſtrove to palliate their proceedings by a declaration, and aſſign in it for cauſes of their perjuries, all the calumnies that had been raiſed againſt the king by his moſt profeſſed enemies, or from thoſe uncertain rumours which themſelves had invented: adding and repeating others which had even in the parliament houſe been condemned as forgeries. Which infamous libel they cauſed to be ſent to all the pariſhes of the kingdom, to be divulged, ſuppoſing that none dared to refute their black and pernicious ſlanders; or that none could publicly do it, becauſe they ſet ſtrict watches upon all the printing-preſſes. They likewiſe commanded the curates to read it in their ſeveral churches, and recommend it to the people.

But all theſe their curſed projects failed, for ſeveral anſwers to their defamations were publiſhed, one writ by the king himſelf, another by ſir Edward Hyde, and a third by Dr. Bates; all which proved

proved the monſtrous falſhoods of their paper, and that the faction was guilty of what they imputed to the king; and this with ſuch evidence, that none of their moſt mercenary writers, or the moſt foul-mouthed conſpirators, dared to reply to them with the hopes of ſucceſs. The curates coldly, if at all, obſerved their orders; and there came ſo few petitions, and thoſe ſigned by ſuch contemptible perſons, that they rather loaded the faction with more hatred, than gave any credit. While none of the people could contain their fury againſt theſe impoſtors, but publicly curſed them and their infamous adherents.

Their miſeries were more highly embittered by the uncertainty of a remedy: for the parliament, that had the name of government, were ſlaves to thoſe whoſe intereſt it was to keep us thus miſerable; and if at any time they were free from the yoke of the army, the two ſects kept them ſo divided, each party labouring by votes and counſels to circumvent the other, that they could not mind the general good: beſides, the power they exerciſed was too much to be well uſed, for they engroſſed the legiſlative authority, and the exerciſe of juriſdiction: ſo that they made laws according to their intereſt, and executed them according to their caprice. This day's vote contradicted the former day's order, and to-morrow we muſt violate what to-day we ſolemnly ſwore to obſerve; ſo that men knew not what to obey, no where to reſt. Thus all hopes of liberty and peace were loſt in confinement of the king, who only was found able and willing to put an end to our miſeries.

Theſe conſiderations cauſed ſeveral attempts for his deliverance, ſome private, and others more public. The firſt was managed by thoſe ſervants whom the parliament had placed about him; for

theſe won by his goodneſs, of which they were daily witneſſes, twice plotted his eſcape, and ventured their lives for his liberty but failed in both deſigns; and the laſt being diſcovered before it could be carried into execution, one Rolfe, a bloody villain, waited to kill him as he ſhould deſcend from his chamber.

Inraged with their own oppreſſions and the miſeries of their prince, men in moſt counties, even of thoſe that had adhered to the parliament, now vexed that they had been ſo baſely deluded, drew up petitions for a perſonal treaty with the king; that the army's arrears being paid, they ſhould immediately be disbanded; that relief ſhould be ſent into Ireland, and England quite eaſed of the contribution, which they could no longer bear. To theſe petitions there were ſuch innumerable ſubſcriptions, that the officers of the army and parliament were mad to ſee their threats of ſequeſtration, impriſonment and death, make no impreſſion; and the promiſes they likewiſe made were ſlighted, becauſe contradicted by their former perjuries.

The firſt petitioners were the Eſſex men, which came in ſuch numbers as had not been ſeen before, as if they would force, not intreat for, what was neceſſary. After them theſe of Surry, whom, by the command of the officers and parliament-men, the ſoldiers aſſaulted at the parliament-doors, killed ſome, wounded more, and plundered all; and for this brave exploit upon unarmed petitioners, they had the thanks of the commons, and a largeſs for their valour; that ſo the people might be terrified from offering petitions, which before the very ſame men had declared to be the birthright of every Engliſhman.

But

But all their tyranny upon the complaining nation prevailed nothing but to provoke them to a higher indignation and more frequent petitions: and, when they perceived they dealt with men obſtinate to their own intereſt, which were not to be gained but by the public ruin, from prayers they had recourſe to arms, and entitled their juſt war, for the liberty of king and people: and in ſeveral places, as in Kent, Eſſex, Suffolk, Norfolk, Cornwall, Yorkſhire, Wales, and at laſt in Surry, multitudes took up arms for this righteous cauſe. The navy alſo quitted them, and ſetting Rainsbrough, their levelling admiral on ſhore, ſeventeen ſhips delivered themſelves up to the prince of Wales. The Scots likewiſe, by an order of their own parliament ſent into Englond an army under Hamilton.

But all was in vain, God had decreed other triumphs for his majeſty, and to tranſlate him to another kingdom: for the Engliſh being but tumultarily raiſed, having no train of artillery or ammunition conſiderable, were ſoon ſuppreſſed by a veteran army provided with all neceſſaries. The Scots, either through the weakneſs or wickedneſs of their commanders, who made ſo diſorderly a march, that their van and rear were forty miles aſunder, were eaſily worſted by Cromwell, who ſurpriſed their main body, and Hamilton was taken priſoner. Cromwell followed the ſcattered parties into Scotland, where they were likewiſe aſſaulted by Argyle, a domeſtic enemy, and forced to ſubmit thoſe arms the parliament had put into their hands to the faction of that falſe earl; who called another parliament, from which all were excluded that in the former voted for the king's delivery, and all the orders of that convention made void. Cromwell had the public thanks, and the pri-

vate faith of Argyle, to endeavour, as opportunity permitted, the extirpation of monarchy out of Scotland.

The navy alſo deſerted the prince, being corrupted by the earl of Warwick, who was appointed for this ſervice: and when he had inglorioufly bought off their faith to their lawful prince, himſelf was ignominiouſly caſhiered by the conſpirators.

While theſe things were managed by the army that were now at a diſtance, and Cromwell's terrors were greater in Scotland than here, the leſs guilty parliament-men ſeriouſly conſidering how impatient the people now were of thoſe injuries that were done to their ſovereign, how hateful themſelves grew, becauſe they had betrayed and enſlaved their own privileges, together with the liberties of the ſubject, to an inſatiable and fanatic army, repented thoſe votes which they had formerly made, of No more Addreſſes to the King. This being paſſed in both houſes, they afterwards, with a ſtrong conſent, voted a treaty with the king, in honour, freedom, and ſafety. The factious party in the parliament found themſelves too few and weak to oppoſe this impetuous tendency of the two houſes and the whole kingdom to peace; but yet they endeavoured to fruſtrate the labours of their more ſincere members, and to baffle the people's juſt deſires of it, by impoſing many unjuſt conditions and reſtrictions.

They procured that the treaty ſhould be in the Iſle of Wight, and not at London; that it ſhould be by commiſſioners, and not immediately with the two houſes, as was petitioned. The propoſitions that were ſent to be treated were the ſame with what had before been offered to the king at Hampton-court, and were then rejected by him,

and

and alſo condemned by the army itſelf as too unjuſt. The commiſſioners were ſo ſtreightned in power, that it was not lawful for them to ſoften any one of the conditions of peace, not to alter the preface, or change the order of the propoſitions, nor to debate a ſubſequent till the precedent was agreed on. They could conclude nothing; they were only to propoſe the demands, urge reaſons for the royal aſſent, receive the king's anſwer, and refer all in writing to the parliament, whoſe ſlow reſolves, and the delays of ſending, were ſuppoſed would conſume that narrow meaſure of time which was appointed to debate ſo many and ſo different things, for they were limited to forty days. The commiſſioners they ſent, were five of the lord's houſe and twelve of the commoners, and with them ſome of their presbyterian miniſters, who were to preſs importunately for their church-government, to elude the king's arguments for epiſcopacy, and only to impoſe, not to diſpute, their own.

With all theſe, upon ſo many ſeveral and different propoſitions, ſome relating to the law of the land, others to reaſons of ſtate, and ſome to the practices of the apoſtolical primitive churches, the king was to deal without public aſſiſtance: for though he was permitted the miniſtry of ſome officers of ſtate, counſellors and divines, yet were they but of private advice, and to ſtand behind the curtain; he only himſelf was to ſpeak in the debate, and ſingly to manage matters of policy with their moſt experienced ſtatiſts, and the points of divinity, with their beſt-ſtudied divines.

The king's incredible prudence had found temperaments for their moſt harſh propoſitions; and, by a preſent judgment and commanding eloquence, he ſo urged his own, and refuted their arguments, that he forced an admiration of himſelf, and, which

was

was a teſtimony of the divine aſſiſtance, drew many of the unwilling commiſſioners to his own opinion; with a wonderful lenity proved their demands unjuſt, yet granted what was not directly againſt his honour and conſcience. Thus diveſting himſelf of his own rights, he demonſtrated that he had thoſe affections which might juſtly ſtile him, the father of his country; for he endeavoured by his own loſſes to repair the damages of his people. Yet the king ſaw, by the obſtinacy of the moſt powerful of thoſe he treated with, that they intended nothing leſs than peace, nor any thing more than his deſtruction; which, that it might be adequate to their malice, they would have it accompanied with the damnation of his ſoul, preſſing him to do thoſe things which they themſelves acknowledged ſinful, as the alienation of church-lands.

Although his majeſty was thus ſenſible of their inſatiable thirſt for his blood, yet becauſe he had paſſed his royal word not to ſtir out of that iſland, he did not hearken to the ſervant, who perſuaded him to provide for his ſafety by flight, which he aſſured him was not difficult, and in adminiſtring to which he offered to hazard his own life. But the king always thought his life of leſs conſideration than his honour, and would not give his enemies that advantage over his fame, which their unjuſt arms and frauds had gotten upon his perſon.

While the treaty thus proceeded, the army, under the command of the lord Fairfax and Ireton, drew towards London, and quartered within half a day's march from the city; that, if their intereſt required it, they might the more ſuddenly oppreſs thoſe who were leſs favourable to their enterpriſes. The officers at firſt publicly profeſſed great modeſty, yet in private practiſed an univerſal confuſion;

for

for mingling counſels with their factious party in the two houſes, they ſet up again the meetings of their adjutators, framed among themſelves petitions againſt the treaty, and to require that all delinquents, without difference, might be brought to trial; and by their emiſſaries abroad drew ſome inconſiderable perſons to ſubſcribe to them.

When they thought theſe practices had produced their deſired effect, Ireton, under pretext of a diſpute betwixt him and Fairfax, withdrew himſelf privately to Windſor-caſtle, where being met by ſome of his accomplices in the parliament, they jointly framed a declaration in an imperious and affected ſtile. Wherein, in the name of the army, he maliciouſly declared againſt all peace with the king, and his reſtitution to the government. Afterwards he demanded, that he might be dealt with as the grand and capital delinquent. With theſe he mingled ſome things to terrify the parliament, ſome to pleaſe the ſoldiers, and others to raiſe the hopes of novelty in the rabble.

This being prepared, the treaty now drawing towards an end, and the commanders having a perfect intelligence how all things in the the Iſle of Wight and in the parliament ſtrongly tended to an accommodation, they thought it now ſeaſonable to begin their intended crime. Therefore they ſpeedily called a council of war, at which met the colonels, and other inferior counſellors, all men of mercenary ſouls, ſeditious, covetous, and ſo accuſtomed to diſſimulation, that they ſeemed to be compoſed by nature to frame and colour impoſtures. They began their meeting with prayers and faſting, pretending to enquire and ſeek the will of God concerning the wickedneſs they had predetermined.

Thus

Thus having prefaced their villainy, Ireton produced his remonſtrance, which being read among them was received by the ſoldiers with as great an applauſe as if it had been an oracle from Heaven; and to make it the more terrible, they ſtiled it The Remonſtrance of the Army, and ordered it to be preſented to the parliament in the name of the army and people of England.

The parliament, though hitherto they had been very obſequious to the army, yet the members now meeting in greater numbers than uſual, and preferring the utmoſt hazards to a compliance with this remonſtrance, laid it aſide, and began to debate the king's conceſſions, which then lay before them. This free and ſtout carriage of theirs was much reſented by the ſoldiers, who ſtormed at the contempt of thoſe whoſe grandeur depended upon their arms: and, leſt they ſhould miſcarry in their chief deſign, and loſe the ſacrifice to their ambition, they immediately ſent a party of their army into the Iſle of Wight to ſecure the king. Theſe laying hold upon him, with a moſt inſolent rudeneſs, not permitting the delay of a breakfaſt, forced him from the iſland into Hurſt caſtle, an unwholeſome and diſagreeable place.

The other part of their army they cauſed to march towards London, with all the imaginable ſigns of terror, as if they went to ſack and plunder an enemy's town. When they had entered, they were quartered in thoſe houſes of the king and nobility which were neareſt the parliament-houſe, hoping by the greatneſs and nearneſs of the danger ſo to affright thoſe members who were not ſo wicked as to comply with them, that they ſhould voluntarily withdraw, and hiding themſelves leave the poſſeſſion to their own ſcanty party.

But

But the honeſt members were more ſtrongly attached to juſtice, and therefore not terrified with the menaces and clamours of the ſoldiers, but, as inſpired with ſome unaccuſtomed courage this time, and thinking themſelves guarded by the priviledges of parliament, they appeared in the houſe; where the commoners reaſſuming the conſideration of the king's conceſſions, continued that debate till paſt midnight; the factious party, and the creatures of the army ſtill raiſing new doubts and ſcruples, multiplying cavils, and, by tedious harangues, waſting the time, that the more juſt party, which conſiſted moſt of gentlemen of fortune, not accuſtomed to ſuch watchings and faſtings, might be wearied out, and leave them to their own reſolves: and alſo that they might give time to the whole army to march into the city that night.

Among the reſt was ſir Henry Vane. This man in the Iſle of Wight had perſuaded the king not to be prodigal in his conceſſions; that he had already yielded more than was fit for them to aſk, or him to grant, and undertook to make it evident to the whole world: yet now he moſt fiercely and perfidiouſly inveighed againſt the conceſſions, as deſigned by the king, under the appearance of peace, to ruin the parliament and commonwealth. Yet at laſt, notwithſtanding thoſe terrors without, and troubles within, the houſe came to this reſolve, That the king's conceſſions were a ſufficient ground for peace: which was carried by two hundred voices, and there were ſcarce ſixty diſſenters.

The next day the ſame reſolve was paſſed by the lords in the very ſame terms, not one diſſenting; who immediately adjourned for a week, to wait whether this fury of the army would ſpend itſelf after

after ſo generous an oppoſition; and the houſe of commons ſent ſome of their own members to acquaint the lord Fairfax and his officers of this their vote.

This free and public deteſtation of the crime, that was deſigned, extremely enraged the projectors of it; and the democratic party in the houſe mingled threatnings with their advices; for one of the chiefs of the faction could not forbear to aſſure them, that if they continued in this their reſolve, they ſhould never after have liberty of meeting there again. Which accordingly was executed: for the next day they were to meet there, the colonels had placed a guard of two regiments of foot and one of horſe upon the houſe of commons, who ſtrictly keeping all the avenues thereto, that none might enter without their leave, laid hold upon forty members that were perſons of the moſt known integrity and higheſt reſolution. They denied admiſſion to one hundred and fifty more, and ſuffered none to enter of whoſe ſervile compliance they were not well aſſured.

The impriſoned members were vexed and tortured with great indignities, expoſing them to the mockeries and inſolence of the common ſoldiers, although there were many among them that had before commanded armies, brigades and regiments in the parliament's cauſe againſt the king; and others that had been ſtrenuous aſſertors of their firſt injuſtice to their king.

The number that would ſerve them was not equal to the name of a parliament, being ſcarce the eighth part of that convention, and not much above forty in all, and thoſe the reproach of that aſſembly; for beſides thoſe that were violently excluded, others that abhorred the conditions of ſitting there, withdrew

withdrew themſelves to their own homes; aud many of thoſe who formerly deluded by their pretenſions to religion, juſtice and liberty, had hitherto been of the faction, yet now awakened by theſe enormous crimes, forſook their bloody confederacy.

Yet did not this cnntemptible number, of which in moſt votes there were twenty diſſenters, bluſh to aſſume the authoriry of managing the weightieſt affairs of the Engliſh empire, to alter and change the government, to expoſe his majeſty to a violent murder, and to overthrow the ancient fundamental laws of the kingdom; for being wholly devoted to the ſervice of the army, they communicated counſels with them; and whatſoever was reſolved at the council of war, paſſed into a law by the votes of this remnant of the houſe of commons, who now ſerved the ſoldiers in hopes of part of the ſpoil, and a precarious greatneſs, which being acquired by ſo much wickedneſs could not be laſting. In order, therefore, to the army's deſign, they revived thoſe votes of No Addreſſes to the King. The votes of a treaty with the king, and of the ſatisfactorineſs of his conceſſions, they razed with ſcorn out of the journal book: and then proceeded to vote,

" 1, That the people, under God, are the ori-
" ginal of all juſt power.

" 2, That the commons of England, aſſembled
" in parliament, being choſen by, and repreſenting
" the people, have the ſupreme authority of this
" nation."

" 3, That whatſoever is enacted and declared
" for law by the commons of England aſſembled
,' in parliament," by which they underſtood themſelves, " hath the force of law.

" 4. That

" 4, That all the people of this nation are con-
" cluded thereby, although the conſent and con-
" currence of the king and houſe of peers be not
" had thereunto.

" 5, That to raiſe arms againſt the people's re-
" preſentative, or parliament, and to make war
" upon them, is high-treaſon.

" 6, That the king himſelf took arms againſt
" the parliament, and on that account is guilty of
" the blood ſhed throughout the civil-war, and
" that he ought to expiate the crime with his own
" blood."

In their next conſultations, they conſtitued a tribunal to ſentence their ſovereign of the moſt abject ſubjects; and to procure a reverence of the vileſt of men, they gave it the the ſpecious name of the high-court of juſtice; for which they appointed one hundted and fifty judges, of the moſt violent and heady of all the faction; to whom they gave a power of citing, hearing, judging, and puniſhing Charles Stuart, king of England. To make up this number, they had named ſix peers of the upper houſe, and the twelve judges of the land; but the greateſt part were officers of the army and members of the lower houſe, who were moſt violent againſt monarchy, and indeed all government wherein themſelves had no ſhare. The reſt were perſons picked out of the city of London and ſuburbs thereof, who they imagined would be moſt obſequious to their will.

All this while the houſe of peers were not conſulted, and it was commonly ſuppoſed that moſt of them, terrified with theſe preparations againſt the king, would abſent themſelves from that houſe, except four or five who were the darlings of the faction; and they deemed the names and compli-

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ance of thoſe few were enough to give credit and authority to their bloody act. But in them they were diſappointed alſo; for ſome of the peers conſtantly met, and on the day wherein the bill for the trial of the king was carried up to that houſe, there were ſeventeen then preſent, who all unanimouſly rejected the bill as dangerous and illegal. This ſo highly provoked the fury of the faction, that they meditated a ſevere revenge, and for the preſent blotted out thoſe peers, whoſe names they had before put into their ordinance, to make their court more ſplendid. After this they alſo razed out the names of the judges of the land; for they being privately conſulted concerning theſe proceedings againſt the king, anſwered, that it was contrary to the known laws and cuſtoms of England, that the king ſhould be brought to trial.

To heal theſe two wounds which the lords and judges had branded their cauſe with, they uſed two other artifices to keep up the ſpirits and concurrence of their party. Firſt, they brought from Hertfordſhire a woman who ſaid, that God, by a revelation to her, approved of the army's proceedings. Which meſſage from Heaven was accepted of with thanks, as being very ſeaſonable, and coming from an humble ſpirit. A ſecond was, the agreement of the people; wherein thoſe whoſe abject condition had ſet them at a great diſtance from government, had their hopes raiſed to a ſhare of it, if they conſpired to remove the great obſtruction, which was the perſon and life of the king. This was preſented to the houſe of commons by ſir Hardreſs Waller, and ſixteen other officers, as a temporary remedy; for when they had perpetrated their impiety, they diſcountenanced and fircely proſecuted thoſe that endeavoured it.

In confidence of theſe their arts and their preſent power, they enacted their bill; and for preſident of this court they choſe one of the number, John Bradſhaw, a perſon of an infamy equal to his new employment. They alſo had a ſollicitor of the ſame metal, John Cooke, a needy man, who, by various arts and many crimes, had ſought for a neceſſary ſubſiſtence, yet ſtill ſo poor, that he was forced to ſeek the ſhelter of obſcure and ſordid corners to avoid priſon.

Theſe were their chief agents; other inferior miniſters they had equally qualified with theſe their prime inſtruments; as Doriſlaus, a German bandito, who was to draw up the charge; Steele, another of their counſel, under pretence of ſickneſs covered his fear of the event, though he did not abhor the wickedneſs of the enterprize, having before uſed his tongue in a cauſe very unjuſt, and relative to this, the murder of captain Burleigh. The ſerjeants, clerks, and crier, were ſo very obſcure, that the world had never taken notice of them, but by their ſubſerviency to this horrid impiety.

Theſe were the public preparations. In private they continually met to contrive the form of their proceedings, and the matter of their accuſation. Concerning the firſt, they were divided in opinions. Some would have the king firſt formally degraded and diveſted of all his royal habiliments and enſigns of majeſty, and then, as a private perſon, expoſed to juſtice. But this ſeemed to require a longer ſpace of time than was conſiſtent with their project, which, as all horrid acts, was to be done in a preſent fury, leſt good counſels might gather ſtrength by their delay. Others rejected this courſe as too evidently conforming with the popiſh procedure againſt ſovereign princes,

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and they feared to confirm that common ſuſpicion, that they followed jeſuitical counſels; which ſober proteſtants had reaſon enough to believe, becauſe all, or moſt, of the arguments which were uſed by the aſſertors of this violence on his majeſty, were but gleanings from popiſh writers.

Theſe conſiderations caſt the determination on their ſide who, deſigning a tyrannical Oligarchy, whereby they themſelves might have a ſhare in the government, would have the king proceeded againſt as king, that, by ſhedding his blood, they might extinguiſh majeſty, and with him murder monarchy; for ſeveral of them confeſſed, that indeed he was guilty of no crime more than that he was their king.

In their ſecond debate about the matter of accuſation, all willingly embraced the advice of Harriſon to blacken him as much as they could; yet found they not wherewith to pollute his name: for their old ſcandals, which they had amaſſed in their declaration for no more addreſſes to the king, had been ſo publicly refuted, that they could afford no colour for his murder. Therefore they formed their accuſation from that war to which they had neceſſitated him: and their charge was, That he had levied war againſt the parliament; that he had appeared in arms in ſeveral places, and did there proclaim war, and executed it by killing ſeveral of the good people; for which they impeached him as a tyrant, traitor, murderer, and an implacable common enemy.

How little credit their accuſation found, appeared by the endeavours of all parties to preſerve the king's perſon from danger, and the nation from the guilt of his blood; for while they were thus engaged to perpetrate their intended miſchiefs, all parties declared againſt it. The preſby-

terian miniſters, almoſt all thoſe of London, and very many out of the ſeveral counties; and ſome, though few, alſo of the independents. did in their ſermons and conferences, as alſo by monitory letters, petitions, proteſtations, and remonſtrances. publicly divulged, adjure the aſſaſſins not to draw ſo great a guilt upon themſelves and the whole nation by that murder.

But all was fruitleſs, for they had loſt their miniſterial authority by ſerving the faction ſo long till they needed not their aſſiſtance, and deſpiſed their admonitions. Beſides, the very ſame principles they preached to kindle the war, were now beat back into their faces, and made uſe of againſt them to adjuſt the murder. The people alſo contemned them for their ſhort-ſightedneſs, in that they would be the heady and and indiſcreet inſtruments of ſuch men, and in ſuch practices, as muſt of neceſſity at laſt ruin them and all miniſters, as well as the king and biſhops.

The Scots alſo by their commiſſioners declared and proteſted againſt it. The ſtates of Holland, by their embaſſadors did intercede. and deprecate it as moſt deſtructive to the proteſtant intereſt. Some of the moſt eminent of the nobility, as the the earl of Southampton, the duke of Richmond, the marquis of Hertford, the earl of Lindſey, and others, neglected no means, either by prayer or ranſom, to ſave the king. Yea, they offered themſelves, as being the prime-miniſters of the king's commands, as hoſtages for him; and, if the conſpirators muſt needs be fed with blood, to ſuffer in his ſtead for whatſoever he had done amiſs.

The prince piouſly aſſayed all ways to deliver his father from the danger; for, beſides the ſtates embaſſadors, both he and the prince of Orange daily

daily ſent agents the kindred, relations, and allies of Cromwell, Ireton, and the other conſpirators, with full power to propoſe any conditions, make any promiſes, and uſe all threatnings to divert them, if it were poſſible, from their intended cruelty, or at leaſt to gain ſome time before the execution. But all was in vain, for no conditions of peace could pleaſe them who were poſſeſſed with unlawful and immoderate deſires; their ambition had ſwallowed the hopes of empire, therefore they would remove the king to ſeize the throne themſelves.

Whatſoever it was that truly made them thus cruel, they publicly pretended no other motive than the calls of Providence, and the impulſes of the Bleſſed Spirit.

The conſpirators taking heat from their infamous preachers, whom they themſelves had firſt kindled, and ſomewhat doubting that theſe ſeveral ſtrong applications from all parties to ſave the king, and the univerſal diſcontents, might take ſome advantage from their delay, with more ſpeed haſtened the aſſaſſination. In order to which they ſent a ſerjeant of arms with a guard of horſe into Weſtminſter-hall, and other places in London, to ſummon all that could lay any crime to the king's charge, to come, and give in their evidence againſt him.

Having thus proclaimed their wicked purpoſes, and dreſſed up a tribunal at the upper end of Weſtminſter-hall, with all the appearances of terror, where the preſident, with his abject and bloody aſſiſtants were placed, thither afterwards they brought this moſt excellent monarch, whom having deprived of three great kingdoms, they now determined alſo to deprive of life.

He being ſet, the charge againſt him was read, with all thoſe reproachful terms of tyrant, traitor and murderer; after which he was impeached in the name of the people of England. This falſe ſlander of the people of England was heard with impatience and deteſtation of all, and ſtoutly atteſted againſt by the lady Fairfax, wife of the lord Fairfax; for, from an adjoining ſcaffold, where ſhe ſtood, ſhe cried out with a loud voice, that it was a lie, not the tenth part of the people were guilty of ſuch a crime, but all was done by the machinations of that traitor Cromwell.

But the king, after the charge was read, with a countenance full of majeſty and gravity, demanded by what authority they proceeded with him thus contrary to the public faith, and what law they had to try him that was an abſolute ſovereign. Bradſhaw replying, "That of the parliament;" his majeſty ſhewed the deteſtable falſhood in pretending to what they had not, and if they had it, yet it could not juſtify theſe practices. To which reply, when they could not anſwer, they forced him back to the place of his captivity.

The parricides endeavoured to break his ſpirit by making his appearances frequent before ſuch contemptible judges, and often expoſing him to the contempt of the armed rabble; therefore four days they tortured him with the impudence and reproaches of their infamous ſollicitor and preſident. But he ſtill refuſed to own their authority, which they could not prove lawful, and ſo excellently demonſtrated their abominable impiety, that he made colonel Downes, one of their court, boggle at and diſturb their proceedings. They therefore at laſt proceeded to take away that life which was not

not to be ſeparated from conſcience and honour, and pronounced their ſentence of death upon their lawful and juſt ſovereign, on the twenty-ſeventh of January, not ſuffering him to ſpeak after the decree of their villainy, but hurrying him back to the place of his confinement.

At his departure he was expoſed to all the inſolencies and indignities that a fanatic and baſe rabble, inſtigated by Peters and other inſtructors of villainy, could invent and commit. When the barbarous ſoldiers cried out at his departure, Juſtice, Juſtice, Execution, Execution, as thoſe deceived Jews did once to their King, Crucify him, Crucify him; this prince, in imitation of that moſt holy king, pitied their blind fury, and ſaid, "Poor "ſouls! for a piece of money they would do as "much for their commanders. As he paſſed along, ſome in defiance ſpit upon his garments, and one or two polluted his majeſtic countenance with their unclean ſpittle. The good king, reflecting on his great maſter, wiped it off, ſaying, "My "Saviour ſuffered far more than this for me." Into his very face they blowed their ſtinking tobacco, which they knew was very diſtaſteful to him; and in the way where he was to go, juſt at his feet, they flung down pieces of their naſty pipes. Such as pulled off their hats, or bowed to him, they beat with their fiſts and weapons, and killed one for only crying out, "God be merciful unto "him."

When they had brought him to his chamber, even there they ſuffered him not to reſt, but thruſting in and ſmoaking filthy tobacco, they permitted him no privacy to prayer and meditation. Thus through variety of tortures did the king paſs this day, and by his patience wearied his tormentors.

In the evening the conſpirators were acquainted by a member of the army, of the king's deſire that, ſeeing his death was nigh, it might be permitted him to ſee his children, and to receive the Sacrament; and that Dr. Juxon, then lord biſhop of London, ſince archbiſhop of Canterbury, might be admitted to pray with him in his private chamber.

The firſt they did not ſcruple at, the children in their power being but two, the lady Elizabeth and the duke of Glouceſter, and they very young. The ſecond they did not readily grant. Some would have had Peters to undertake that employment for which the biſhop was ſent for; but he declined it with ſome ſcoffs, as knowing that the king hated the offices of ſuch an unhallowed buffoon: ſo that at laſt they permitted the biſhop's acceſs to the king, to whom his eminent integrity had made him dear.

The next day, being Sunday, the king was removed to St. James's, where the biſhop of London read divine ſervice, and preached in private on theſe words, "In the day when God ſhall judge "the ſecrets of all men by Jeſus Chriſt according "to my goſpel."

While the king and the biſhop at this time, and alſo at other times, were performing the divine ſervice, the rude ſoldiers often ruſhed in, and diſturbed their offices with vulgar and baſe ſcoffs, vain and frivolous queſtions. The commanders likewiſe, and other impertinent anabaptiſts, interrupted his meditations: but he maintained his own cauſe with ſo irrefragable arguments, that he put ſome to ſilence, the petulency of others he neglected, and with a modeſt contempt diſſembled their ſcoffs and reproaches.

In

In the narrow ſpace of this one day, and under ſuch continued affronts and diſturbances, the king applied himſelf, as much as was poſſible, to the reading holy ſcriptures, to prayer, confeſſion of ſins, ſupplications for the forgiveneſs of his enemies, the receiving the euchariſt, holy conferences, and all the offices of piety.

While the king thus ſpent this day, the miniſters in the ſeveral churches in London, and in thoſe parts of the kingdom where his danger was known, were very earneſt in their prayers to God for his deliverance and ſpiritual aſſiſtance.

The next day, being the twenty-ninth of January, the king was permitted the ſight of his children. His conference and words with them was taken in writing, and communicated to the world by the lady Elizabeth, his daughter; a lady of moſt eminent endowments, who, though born in the higheſt fortune, yet lived in continual tears in the Iſle of Wight.

While theſe things were done in public, the conſpirators met in private in a committee, to appoint every one his part in this tragedy, determine what geſtures they were to affect, what words they were to uſe; as alſo for the manner, place and time of the murder. At laſt they reſolved that he ſhould loſe his head by a ſtroke of an axe on a ſcaffold near Whitehall gates before the banquetting-houſe, that ſo from thence where he uſed to ſit on his throne, and ſhew the ſplendor of majeſty, he might paſs to his grave.

In the midſt of theſe preparations, they cauſe ſome ſoldiers to offer his majeſty certain articles and conditions, to which if he would ſubſcribe, they promiſed life, and the continuance of a precarious empire: but when one or two of them had been read to him, he refuſed to hear any more, ſaying,

"I will ſuffer a thouſand deaths ere I will ſo pro-
"ſtitute my honour, or betray the liberties of my
"people."

At laſt that fatal day, the thirtieth of January, approached; and that morning, a little before his death, the conſpirators ordered ſome of their miniſters, viz. Marſhal, Nye Caryl, Salway, and Dell, to pray with him, as they ſaid, in order to his paſſage out of this life; but when theſe ſent, to let him know the end of their coming, he returned anſwer, That he was buſy. They ſent a ſecond time, and he replied, That he was at his devotions. They importunately ſent a third time, and my lord of London then deſiring to know what anſwer he ſhould give to ſatisfy them; his majeſty then, as unconcerned in their miniſtery, ſaid, "My lord, you may give them what anſwer you
"pleaſe, but I am reſolved, that they who have
"ſo often and ſo cauſeleſly prayed againſt me,
"ſhall not in this my agony pray with me; they
"may pray for me if they pleaſe."

Therefore the king, arming himſelf with his his own devotions in the offices of the church of England, in them found an unexpected comfort; for the goſpel for that day being the hiſtory of the paſſion of our Saviour, did, by that example, ſtrengthen the king to follow Jeſus, and to take up his croſs: and his majeſty was thankful for that pattern.

Being thus confirmed by the blood, for he took the ſacrament that morning, and ſufferings of his Lord, whoſe viceregent he was, together with his own innocence, againſt the terrors of death, he was brought from St. James's through the Park to Whitehall, walking very faſt, and with as chearful a countenance as if he was going to hunt, (a recreation he was much pleaſed with) often adviſe-

ing his ſlow guards to move faſter; adding, "I "now go before you to ſtrive for an heavenly "crown, with leſs ſollicitude than I formerly have "led my ſoldiers for an earthly diadem."

Being come to the end of the Park, he, with much alacrity, went up the ſtairs leading to the long gallery in Whitehall, and ſo into the cabinet-chamber, where he continued ſome time in devotion, while they were fitting the theatre of his murder.

While theſe things were acting, the lord Fairfax, who had always forborn any public appearance in the practices of this murder had taken up, as is credibly reported, ſome reſolutions either in abhorrence of the crime, or by the ſollicitations of others, his own regiment, though none elſe ſhould follow him, to hinder the execution. This being ſuſpected, or known, Cromwell, Ireton, and Harriſon coming to him, after their uſual way of deceiving, endeavoured to perſuade him, that the Lord had rejected the king; and with ſuch language as they knew had formerly prevailed upon him, concealing that they had, that very morning, ſigned the warrant for the aſſaſſination. They alſo deſired him, with them, to ſeek the Lord by prayer, that they might know his mind in the thing. Which he aſſenting to, Harriſon was appointed for the duty, and by compact to draw out his profane and blaſphemous diſcourſe to God in ſuch a length as might give time for the execution, which they privately ſent their inſtruments to haſten; of which when they had notice that it was paſt, they roſe up, and perſuaded the general that this was a full return of prayer, and God having ſo manifeſted his pleaſure, they were to acquieſce in it.

There was likewiſe another attempt made by colonel Downes, who had diſturbed them in their court,

court, to obſtruct them in their execution; for it is ſaid, that he endeavoured to make a mutiny in the army to hinder the wickedneſs, but the haſte of the aſſaſſins prevented him.

While theſe men acted their wickedneſs by prayers, to the laſting reproach of Chriſtianity, the king, after he had finiſhed his ſupplications, was through the banquetting-houſe brought to the ſcaffold, which was dreſſed to terror, for it was all hung with black, where were attending two executioners in diſguiſes, and the axe and the block prepared. But it prevailed not to affright him whoſe ſoul was already panting after another life: and therefore he entered this ignominious and ghaſtly theatre with the ſame mind as he uſed to carry to his throne, ſhewing no fear of death, but a ſolicitude for thoſe that ſhould live after him. Looking about, he ſaw divers companies of horſe and foot ſo placed on each ſide the ſtreet and about the ſcaffold, that the people could not come near him, and thoſe that ſaw could not be hearers; therefore, omitting that ſpeech which it was probable he would have ſpoken to the people, he ſpoke to the officers, and thoſe that were then about him, that which is now printed among his works.

Having ended his ſpeech, he declared his profeſſion of religion; and while he was preparing for the block, he expreſſed what were his hopes, for all the righteous have ſuch, in death, ſaying, "I "have a good cauſe and a gracious God on my "ſide; I go from a corruptible to an incorrupti-"ble crown, where no diſturbance can be, no di-"ſturbance in the world."

After this, compoſing himſelf to an addreſs to God, having his eyes and hands lifted up to Heaven, and expreſſing ſome ſhort and private ejaculations,

ejaculations, he kneeled down before the block, as at a deſk of prayer, and meekly ſubmitted his crowned head to the pleaſure of his God, to be profaned by the axe of the diſguiſed executioner; which was ſuddenly ſevered from his body by one ſtroke.

Thus the king finiſhed his martyrdom, but his enemies not their malice, who extended their cruelty beyond his life, and abuſed the headleſs trunk. Some waſhed their hands in the royal blood, others dipped their ſtaves in it; and, that they might indulge their inſatiate covetouſneſs, as well as their boundleſs inhumanity, they ſold the chips of the block, and the ſands that were diſcoloured with his blood, and expoſed his very hairs to ſale.

Afterwards they delivered the body to be unbowelled to an infamous empiric of the faction, together with the rude chirurgions of the army, who were all moſt implacable enemies to his majeſty, and commanded them to ſearch whether they could not find in it ſymptoms of the French diſeaſe, or ſome evidences of frigidity, and natural impotency; that ſo they might have ſome colour to ſlander him who was eminent for chaſtity, or to make his ſeed infamous. But this wicked deſign was prevented by a phyſician of great integrity and ſkill; who intruding himſelf among them at the diſſection, by his preſence and authority kept the obſequious wretches from gratifying their opprobrious maſters: and the ſame phyſician alſo publiſhed that nature had tempered the royal body to a longer life than is commonly granted to other men.

Not content with theſe injuries to his body and ſoul, they endeavoured likewiſe to murder his memory: for they pulled down his ſtatue, which was placed at the weſt end of St. Paul's church, and that

that other in the Old Exchange, and leaving the arch void, they writ over, "Exit tyrannus regum "ultimus."

Beſides this, they took care to ſuppreſs all thoſe more lively figures of him and moſt laſting ſtatues, his writings, and therefore forced from my lord of London, whom they kept priſoner, all thoſe papers which his majeſty had delivered to him, and made a moſt narrow ſearch of his cloaths and cabinets, leſt any of thoſe monuments of piety and wiſdom ſhould eſcape to the benefit of mankind. Yet, by the gracious goodneſs of the almighty God, to their eternal infamy, and for a perpetual record of the king's great virtues, they eſcaped their ſearch, and was publiſhed to the world, The book of his meditations and ſoliloquies. In the compoſition of which a ſober reader cannot tell which to admire moſt, his incredible prudence, his ardent piety, or his majeſtic and truly royal ſtyle.

While the parricides were ſeeking for freſh occaſions to expreſs their malice, the whole kingdom was compoſed to mourning and lamentation; even ſome of thoſe who ſat as judges could not forbear to mingle ſome tears with his blood when it was ſpilt. Many compoſed elegies and ſerious poems to preſerve the memory of his virtues, to expreſs their own grief, and to inſtruct the mournings of others; and their paſſions made them above their uſual ſtrain more elegant. Many who writ the acts of his time did vindicate his honour, and divulged the baſe arts of his enemies, even while their power was dreadful.

This monarch died in the forty-ninth year of his age, and twenty-ſecond of his reign; and we may apply to him what was ſaid of that excellent Roman who ſought glory by virtue,

"Homo

" Homo virtuti ſimillimus, et per omnia in-
" genio Diis quam hominibus proprior: qui nun-
" quam rectè fecit, ut rectè facere videretur; ſed
" quia aliter facere non poterat: cuique id ſolum
" viſum eſt rationem habere quod habere juſtitiam.
" Omnibus humanis vitiis immunis ſemper in pro-
" teſtate ſua fortunam habuit."

Vell. Paterc. lib. 2.

*** As the martyrdom of king Charles was followed by the execution of ſeveral of the nobility and gentry who ſuffered in his cauſe, we ſhall here ſubjoin an account of their behaviour at execution, omitting the other circumſtances of their lives, as they contain nothing intereſting:

THE

The ſeveral Speeches and Behaviour of Duke Hamilton, the Earl of Holland, and the Lord Capell, immediately before their Execution upon the Scaffold in the Palace-yard, Weſtminſter, on Friday, the ninth of March, 1649.

Duke Hamilton, Earl of Cambridge.

UPON Friday, the ninth of this inſtant, being the day appointed for the execution of the ſentence of death upon duke Hamilton, the earl of Holland, and the lord Capell, about ten o'clock that morning, lieutenant-colonel Becher came with his order to the ſeveral priſoners at St. James's, requiring them to come away; according to which order they were carried in ſedans, with a guard, to ſir Thomas Cotton's houſe at Weſtminſter, where they continued about the ſpace of two hours, paſſing away moſt of that time in religious and ſeaſonable conferences with the miniſters, there preſent with them. After which, being called away to the ſcaffold, it was deſired, that before they went they might have the opportunity of commending their ſouls to God by prayer, which being readily granted, and the room voided, Mr. Bolton was deſired, by the lord of Holland, to take that pains with them, which was accordingly done with great appearance of ſolemn affections among them.

Prayer

Prayer being concluded, and hearty thanks returned by them all to the miniſters who performed, as alſo to the reſt who were their aſſiſtants in this ſad time of trouble. The earl of Cambridge prepared firſt to go towards the place of execution; and, after mutual embraces, and ſome ſhort ejaculatory expreſſions, to and for his fellow-ſufferers, he took his leave of them all, and went along with the officer, attended by Dr. Sibbald, whom he had choſen for his comforter in this ſad condition.

The ſcaffold being erected in the new palace yard at Weſtminſter, over againſt the great hall gate, in the ſight of the place where the high court of juſtice formerly ſat, the hall doors being open, there was his excellency's regiment of horſe commanded by captain Diſhe, and ſeveral companies of colonel Hewſon's and colonel Pride's regiments of foot drawn up in the place.

When the earl came from Weſtminſter-hall near the ſcaffold, he was met by the under-ſheriff of Middleſex and a guard of his men, who took the charge of him from lieutenant-colonel Beecher and the partizans that were his guard: the ſheriff of London being alſo, according to command from the high court of juſtice, preſent to ſee the execution performed.

Duke Hamilton being come upon the ſcaffold, and two of his own ſervants waiting upon him, he firſt ſpake unto the doctor as followeth:

Duke. Whether ſhall I pray firſt?

Dr. Sibbald. As your lordſhip pleaſes.

Duke. My lord of Denbigh has ſent to ſpeak with me.

I know not the faſhion, I may aſk you ſir; Do thoſe gentlemen expect I ſhould ſay any thing to them, or no? They cannot hear.

Dr. Sibbald. There will be a greater ſilence by and by. It will not be amiſs, if your lordſhip defer your ſpeaking till you hear from his lordſhip.

Duke. There is ſomething in it. He was with the houſe.

Dr. Sibbald. I ſuppoſe he would give no interruption to your lordſhip, at this time, were there not ſomething of concernment in it.

Duke. He is my brother, and has been a very faithful ſervant to the ſtate, and he was in great eſteem and reputation with them.

He is in the hall, and ſent to ſpeak with a ſervant of mine, to ſend ſomething to me.

Sibbald. It will not lengthen the time much if you ſtay while we have a return from him.

My lord, you ſhould do well to beſtow your time now in meditating upon, and imploring of the free mercy in God of Chriſt for your eternal ſalvation; and look upon that ever-ſtreaming fountain of his precious blood, that purgeth us from all our ſins, even the ſins of the deepeſt dye: the blood of Jeſus Chriſt waſhes away all our ſins, and that blood of Chriſt is poured away upon all ſuch as by a lively faith lay hold upon him: God ſo loved the world that he gave his only begotten Son, to the end that whoſoever believed in him ſhould not periſh, but have everlaſting life. That is now, my lord, the rock upon which you muſt chiefly reſt, and labour to fix yourſelf on the free mercy of God through Chriſt Jeſus, whoſe mercies are from everlaſting to everlaſting, unto all ſuch as with an eye of faith behold him; behold Jeſus, the author and finiſher of your ſalvation, who hath ſatisfied the juſtice of God by that all-ſufficiency of his ſacrifice, which once for all he offered upon the croſs for the ſins of the whole world; ſo that the

ſting

ſting of death is taken away from all believers, and he hath ſanctified it as a paſſage to everlaſting bleſſedneſs. It is true, the waters of Jordan run ſomewhat rough and ſurly between the Wilderneſs and our paſſage into Canaan; but let us reſt upon the ark, my lord, the ark of Jeſus, that will carry us through, and above all thoſe waves to that rock of ages, which no flood or waves can reach unto; and to him who is yeſterday, to day, and the ſame for ever; againſt whom the powers and principalities, the gates of hell, ſhall never be able to prevail. Lift up and faſten your eyes upon Chriſt crucified, and labour to behold Jeſus ſtand at the right hand of his Father, as the protomartyr Stephen, ready to receive your ſoul, when it ſhall be ſeparated from this from this frail and mortal body. Alas, no man would deſire life, if he knew before hand what it was to live; it is nothing but ſorrow, vexation and trouble, grief and diſcontent, that waits upon every condition, whether public or private; in every ſtation and calling there are ſeveral miſeries and troubles that are inſeparable from them; therefore what a bleſſed thing is it to have a ſpeedy and comfortable paſſage out of this raging ſea into the port of everlaſting happineſs! We muſt paſs through a ſea, but it is the ſea of Chriſt's blood, in which never ſoul ſuffered ſhipwreck; in which we muſt be blown with winds and tempeſts; but they are the gales of God's ſpirit upon us, which blow away all contrary winds of diffidence in his mercy.

Here one acquainting the earl his ſervant was coming, he anſwered, "So ſir;" and turning to the under-ſheriff's ſon ſaid,

Sir, you have your warrant here.

Sheriff. Yes, my lord, we have a command.

Duke. A command.

I take this time, ſir, of ſtaying, in regard of the earl of Denbigh's ſending to ſpeak with me. I know not for what it is he deſires me to ſtay.

Dr. Sibbald. I preſume Mr. ſheriff will not grudge your lordſhip a few minutes time, when ſo great a work as this is in hand.

His lordſhip's ſervant being returned, and having delivered his meſſage to the earl of Cambridge privately, he ſaid, "So, it is done now:" and then turning to the front of the ſcaffold, before which, as in all the reſt of the palaces, there was a great concourſe of people, he ſaid,

I think it is truly not very neceſſary for me to ſpeak much: there are many gentlemen and ſoldiers there that ſee me, but my voice truly is ſo weak, ſo low that they cannot hear me; neither truly was I ever at any time ſo much in love with ſpeaking, or with any thing I had to expreſs, that I took delight in it; yet this being the laſt time that I am to do ſo, by a divine providence of almighty God, who hath brought me to this end juſtly for my ſins. I ſhall to you, Mr. ſheriff, declare thus much, as to the matter that I am now to ſuffer for, which is as being a traitor to the kingdom of England: truly, ſir, it was a country that I equally loved with my own; I made no difference; I never intended either the generality of its prejudice, or any particular man's in it: what I did, was by the command of the parliament of the country where I was born; whoſe commands I could not diſobey, withont running into the ſame hazard there of that condition I am now in: the ends, ſir, of that engagement are public; they are in print; and ſo I ſhall not need to ſpecify them.

Dr. Sibbald. The ſun will be too much in your lordſhip's face as you ſpeak.

Duke.

Duke. No ſir, it will not burn it. I hope I ſhall ſee a brighter ſun than this, ſir, very ſpeedily.

Dr. Sibbald, the ſun of righteouſneſs, my lord.

Duke. But to that I was ſaying, ſir. It pleaſed God ſo to diſpoſe that army under my command, as it was ruined; and I, as their general, cloathed with a commiſſion, ſtand here now ready to die. I ſhall not trouble you with repeating of my plea, what I ſaid in my own defence at the court of juſtice, myſelf being ſatisfied with the commands that are laid upon me, and they ſatisfied with the juſtneſs of their procedure; according to the laws of this land. God is juſt, and, howſoever I ſhall not ſay any thing as to the matter of the ſentence, but that I do willingly ſubmit to his divine providence, and I acknowledge that very many ways I deſerve even a worldly puniſhment, as well as hereafter; for we are all ſinful ſir, and I a great one; yet, for my comfort, I know there is a God in heaven that is exceeding merciful; I know my Redeemer ſits at his right hand, and am confident---clapping his hand to his breaſt----is meditating for me at this inſtant; I am hopeful, through his free grace, and all-ſufficient merits, to be pardoned of my ſins, and to be received into his mercy; upon that I rely, truſting to nothing but the free grace of God through Jeſus Chriſt. I have not been tainted with my religion, I thank God for it, ſince my infancy it hath been ſuch as hath been profeſſed in the land, and eſtabliſhed; and now 'tis not this religion, or that religion, or this or that fancy of men, that is to be built upon; 'tis but one that's right, one that's ſure, and that comes from God, ſir, and in the free grace of our Soviour. Sir, there is truly ſomething that, had I thought my ſpeech would have been thus taken, I would have digeſted it into ſome better method than now I can,

and ſhall deſire thoſe gentlemen that do write it, that they will not wrong me in it, and that it may not in this manner be publiſhed to my diſadvantage, for truly I did not intend to have ſpoken thus when I came here.

There are, ſirs, terrible aſperſions have been laid upon myſelf, truly ſuch as, I thank God, I am very free from; as if my actions and intenſions had not been ſuch as they were pretended for; but that, notwithſtanding what I pretended it was for the king, there was nothing leſs intended than to ſerve him in it. I was bred with him for many years, I was his domeſtic ſervant, and there was nothing declared by the parliament, that was not really intended by me; and truly in it I ventured my life one way, and now I loſe it another way; and that was one of the ends; as to the king, I ſpeak only of that, becauſe the reſt has many particulars and to clear myſelf from ſo horrid an aſperſion as is laid upon me; neither was there any other deſign known to me by the incoming of the army, than what is really in the declaration publiſhed. His perſon I do profeſs I loved as he was my king, and as he had been my maſter, it has pleaſed God now to diſpoſe of him, ſo as it cannot be thought flattery to have ſaid this, or any end in me for the ſaying it, but to free myſelf from that calumny which lay upon me. I cannot gain by it; yet truth is what we ſhall gain by for ever.

There hath been much ſpoken, ſir, of an invitation into this kingdom: it is mentioned in that declaration; and truly to that I did and do remit myſelf: and I have been very much laboured for diſcoveries of theſe inviters; 'tis no time to diſſemble. How willing I was to have ſerved this nation in any thing that was in my power, is known to very many honeſt, pious and religious men;

men; and how ready I would have been to have done what I could to have ſerved them, if it had pleaſed God to have preſerved my life, in whoſe hands there was a power: they have not thought it fit, and ſo I am become unuſeful in that which willingly I would have done. As I ſaid at firſt, ſir, ſo I ſay now concerning that point; I wiſh the kingdom happineſs, I wiſh it peace; and truly, ſir, I wiſh that this blood of mine may be the laſt that is drawn; and howſoever I may perhaps have ſome reluctancy with myſelf, as to the matter of my fact, for my ſuffering for my fact, yet I freely forgive all; ſir, I carry no rancour with me to my grave; His will be done that has created both heaven and earth, and me, a poor ſinful creature now ſpeaking before him.

For me to ſpeak, ſir, to you of ſtate-buſineſs, and the government of the kingdom, or my opinion in that, or for any thing in that nature, truly it is to no end; it contributes nothing: my own inclination hath been to peace from the beginning, and it is known to many, that I never was an ill inſtrument betwixt the king and his people: I never acted to the prejudice of the parliament; I bore no arms, I meddled not with it; I was not wanting by my prayers to God almighty for the happineſs of the king; and truly I ſhall pray ſtill that God may ſo direct him, as that ſhall be done which ſhall tend to his glory and the peace and happineſs of the kingdom.

I have not much more to ſay that I remember of; I think I have ſpoken of my religion.

Dr. Sibbald. Your lordſhip has not ſo fully ſaid it.

Duke. Truly I do believe I did ſay ſomething.

Dr. Sibbald. I know you did, 'tis pleaſing to hear it from your lordſhip again.

Duke. Truly, ſir, for the profeſſion of my religion, that which I ſaid was the eſtabliſhed religion, and that which I practiſed in my own kingdom, where I was born and bred: my tenets, they need not be expreſſed, they are known to all, and I am not of a rigid opinion; many godly men there are that may have ſcruples, which do not concern me at all at no time; they may differ in opinion, and now more than at any time; differing in opinion does not move me, nor any man's; my own is clear. Sir, the Lord forgive me my ſins; and I forgive freely all thoſe that even I might, as a worldly man, have the greateſt animoſity againſt; we are bidden to forgive: ſir, 'tis a command laid upon us, and there mentioned, "Forgive us "our treſpaſſes, as we forgive them that treſpaſs "againſt us."

Dr. Sibbald. 'Tis our Saviour's rule, "Love "your enemies; bleſs them that perſecute you; "do good to them that deſpightfully uſe you.

Duke. Sir, it is high time for me to make an end of this; and truly I remember no more that I have to ſay, but to pray to God almighty a few words, and then I have done.

Then kneeling down with Dr. Sibbald, he prayed thus:

MOST bleſſed Lord, I thy poor and moſt unworthy ſervant come unto thee, preſuming in thy infinite mercy, and the merits of Jeſus Chriſt, who ſits upon the throne: I come flying from that of juſtice to that of mercy and tenderneſs, for his ſake which ſhed his blood for ſinners, that he would take compaſſion upon me, that he would look upon me as one that graciouſly hears me, that he will look upon me as one that hath redeemed me, that he would look upon me as one that hath ſhed his blood

blood for me; that he would look upon me as one who now calls and hopes to be ſaved by his all-ſufficient merits. For his ſake, glorious God, have compaſſion upon me in the freeneſs of thy infinite mercy, that when this ſinful ſoul of mine ſhall depart out of this frail carcaſs of clay, I may be carried into thy everlaſting glory: O Lord, by thy free grace, and out of thy infinite mercy, hear me, and look down, and have compaſſion upon me; and thou, Lord Jeſus, thou, my Lord, and thou, my God, and thou, my redeemer, hear me; take pity upon me, take pity upon me, gracious God; and ſo deal with my ſoul that, by thy precious merits, I may attain to thy joy and bliſs: O Lord, remember me, ſo miſerable and ſinful a creature: now thou, O Lord, thou, O Lord, that dyedſt for me, receive me, and receive me into thine own bound of mercy: O Lord, I truſt in thee, ſuffer me not now to be confounded; Satan has had too long poſſeſſion of this ſoul; O let him not prevail againſt it, but let me, O Lord, from henceforth, dwell with thee for evermore.

Now, Lord, it is thy time to hear me; hear me, gracious Jeſus, even for thy own goodneſs, mercy and truth; O glorious God, O bleſſed Father, O holy Redeemer, O gracious Comforter, O holy and bleſſed Trinity, I do render up my ſoul into thy hands, and commit it with the mediation of my Redeemer, praiſing thee for all thy diſpenſations that it has pleaſed thee to confer upon me; and even for this, praiſe, and honour, and thanks, from this time forth for ever more.

Dr. Sibbald. I truſt you now behold, with the eye of faith, the ſun of righteouſneſs ſhining upon your ſoul; and will cheerfully ſubmit unto him who

who hath redeemed us through his blood, even the blood of Jeſus Chriſt, ; that you may appear at the tribunal of God, cloathed with the white robe of his unſpotted righteouſneſs: the Lord grant that with the eye of faith you may ſee the heavens opened, and Jeſus Chriſt ſtanding at the right hand of God, ready to receive you into his arms of mercy.

Then the duke turning to the executioner, ſaid, "Shall I put on another cap? Muſt this hair be turned up from my neck? There are three of my ſervants to give ſatisfaction."

Dr. Sibbald. My lord, I hope you are able to give all that are about you ſatisfaction; you are aſſured that God is reconciled unto you through the blood of Chriſt Jeſus: and the ſpirit of God witneſſeth to you, that Chriſt is become now a Jeſus unto you. My lord, faſten your eyes upon Jeſus the author and finiſher of your ſalvation, who himſelf was brought to a violent death for the redemption of mankind; he cheerfully ſubmitted to his Father's good pleaſure in it, and for us: Bleſſed and holy is he that hath part, my lord, in the firſt reſurrection; that is, in the firſt riſer, Jeſus Chriſt, who is both the reſurrection and the life; over him the ſecond death ſhall have no power. It is the unſpeakable joy of a believer, that, at the hour of death, his ſoul hath an immediate paſſage from this earthly tabernacle to that region of endleſs glory; yea, to the preſence of God himſelf; in whoſe preſence is fulneſs of joy, and at whoſe right hand are pleaſures for ever more.

Then the duke turning to the executioner, ſaid, "Which way is that you would have me lie, "ſir?"

The

The executioner pointing to the front of the ſcaffold, the earl replied, "What, my head this "way?"

Then the under-ſheriff's ſon ſaid, "My lord, "the order is, that you ſhould lay your head towards the high court of juſtice.

The duke, after a little diſcourſe in private with ſome of his ſervants, kneeled down on the ſide of the ſcaffold, and prayed a while to himſelf.

When he had finiſhed his prayer, Dr. Sibbald ſpake to him thus:

My lord, I humbly beſeech God that you may with an holy and Chriſtian courage give up your ſoul to the hand of your faithful Creator and gracious Redeemer; and not be diſmayed with any ſad apprehenſions of the terrors of his death; and what a bleſſed and glorious exchange you ſhall make within a very few minutes?

Then, with a chearful and ſmiling countenance, the earl embracing the doctor in his arms, ſaid,

Duke. Truly, ſir, I do take you in mine arms, and truly, I bleſs God for it, I do not fear; I have an aſſurance that is grounded here----laying his hand upon his heart----now that gives me more true joy than ever I had; I paſs out of a miſerable world to go into an eternal and glorious kingdom; and, ſir, though I have been a moſt ſinful creature, yet God's mercy, I know, is infinite; and, I bleſs God for it, I go with ſo clear a conſcience, that I know not the man that I have perſonally injured.

Dr. Sibbald. My lord, it is a marvellous great ſatisfaction that, at this laſt hour, you can ſay ſo: I beſeech the Lord, for his eternal mercy, ſtrengthen your faith, that, in the very moment of your diſſolution, you may ſee the arms of the Lord Jeſus ſtretched out to receive your ſoul.

Then

Then the earl of Cambridge embracing thoſe his ſervants which where there preſent, ſaid to each of them, "You have been very faithful to me, and "the Lord bleſs you."

Then turning to the executioner, ſaid, "I ſhall "ſay a very ſhort prayer to my God, while I lay "down there; and when I ſtretch out my hand, "my right hand, then, ſir, do your duty; and "I do freely forgive you, and ſo I do all the "world,"

Dr. Sibbald. The Lord in great mercy go along with you, and bring you to the poſſeſſion of everlaſting life, ſtrengthning your faith in Jeſus Chriſt. This is a paſſage, my lord, a ſhort paſſage, unto eternal glory. I hope, through the free grace of your gracious God, you are now able to ſay, "O "death, where is thy ſting? O Grave, where is "thy victory?" and, to make this comfortable anſwer, "Bleſſed be God, bleſſed be God who "hath given me an aſſurance of victory through "Chriſt Jeſus."

Then the earl of Cambridge ſaid to the executioner, "Muſt I lie along?"

Execut. Yes, and't pleaſe your lordſhip.

Duke. When I ſtretch out my hands-------But I will fit my head firſt; tell me if I be right, and how you would have me lie.

Execut. Your ſhirt muſt be pinn'd back, for it lies too high upon your ſhoulders.------Which was done accordingly.

Dr. Sibbald. My lord, now lift up your eyes unto Jeſus Chriſt, and caſt yourſelf now into the everlaſting arms of your gracious Redeemer.

Then the earl having laid his head over the block ſaid, "Is this right?"

Dr. Sibbald.

Dr. Sibbald. Jeſus, the ſon of David, have mercy upon you.

Execut. Lie a little lower, ſir.

Duke. Well, ſtay then till I give you the ſign.

And ſo having lain a ſhort ſpace, devoutly praying to himſelf, he ſtretched out his right hand, whereupon the executioner, at one blow, ſevered his head from his body, which was received by two of his ſervants then kneeling by him, into a crimſon taffaty ſcarf, and that with the body immediately put into a coffin brought upon the ſcaffold for that purpoſe, and from thence conveyed to the houſe that was ſir John Hamilton's at the Mews.

This execution being done, the ſheriff's guard went immediately to meet the earl of Holland, which they did in the mid-way between the ſcaffold and Weſtminſter-hall; and the under-ſheriff's ſon having received him into his charge, conducted him to the ſcaffold, he taking Mr. Bolton all the way in his hand, paſſed all along to the ſcaffold diſcourſing together; upon which being come, obſerving his voice would not reach to the people, in regard the guard compaſſed the ſcaffold, he ſaid, as follows:

LORD

Henry Lord Rich, Earl of Holland.

IT is to no purpoſe, I think, to ſpeak any thing here. Which way muſt I ſpeak? Then being directed to the front of the ſcaffold, he, leaning over the rails, ſaid, I think it is fit to ſay ſomething, ſince God hath called me to this place. The firſt thing which I muſt profeſs, is, what concerns my religion and my breeding; which hath been in a good family, that hath ever been faithful to the true proteſtant religion, in the which I have been bred, in the which I have lived, and in the which, by God's grace and mercy, I ſhall die. I have not lived according to that education I had in that family where I was born and bred. I hope God will forgive me my ſins, ſince I conceive it is very much his pleaſure to bring me to this place for the ſins I have committed.

The cauſe that hath brought me hither, I believe by many hath been much miſtaken. They have conceived that I have had ill deſigns to the ſtate, and to the kingdom; truly I look upon it as a judgment, and a juſt dudgment of God: not but I have offended ſo much the ſtate, and the kingdom, and the parliament, as that I have no extreme vanity in ſerving them very extraordinarily: for thoſe actions that I have done, I think it is known they have been ever very faithful to the public, and very particularly to parliaments. My affections have been ever expreſſed truly and clearly to them.

The diſpoſition of affairs now have put things in another poſture than they were when I was engaged with the parliament. I have never gone off from thoſe

thoſe principles that ever I have profeſſed; I have lived in them, and, by God's grace, will die in them. There may be alterations and changes that may cerry them further than I thought reaſonable, and truly there I left them; but there hath been nothing that I have ſaid, or done, or profeſſed, either by covenant or declaration, which hath not been very conſtant, and very clear, upon the principles that I have ever gone upon; which was to ſerve the king, the parliament, religion, (I ſhould have ſaid in the firſt place) the commonwealth, and to ſeek the peace of the kingdom. That made me think it no improper time, being preſſed out by accidents and circumſtances, to ſeek the peace of the kingdom, which I thought was proper, ſince there was ſomething then in agitation, but nothing agreed on, for ſending propoſitions to the king; that was the furtheſt aim that I had; and truly beyond that I had no intention, none at all: and, God be praiſed, although my blood comes to be ſhed here, there was, I think, ſcarce a drop of blood ſhed in that action that I was engaged in.

For the preſent affairs, as they are, I cannot tell how to judge of them; and truly they are in ſuch a condition, as, I conceive nobody can make a judgment of them; and therefore I muſt make uſe of prayers rather than of my opinion; which are, That God would bleſs this kingdom, this nation, this ſtate; that he would ſettle it in a way agreeable to what this kingdom hath been happily governed under, by a king, by the lords, by the commons; a government that I conceive it hath flouriſhed much under; and I pray God the change of it bring not rather a prejudice, a diſorder, and a confuſion, than the contrary.

I look upon the poſterity of the king, and truly my conſcience directs me to it, to deſire that, if God

God be pleaſed, theſe people may look upon them with that affection that they owe; that they may be called again, and they may be, not through blood nor through diſorder, admitted again into that power, and to that glory, that God in their birth intended to them.

I ſhall pray with all my ſoul for the happineſs of this ſtate, of this nation, that the blood which is here ſpilt may even be the laſt that may fall among us; and truly I ſhould lay down my life with as much cheerfulneſs as ever perſon did, if I conceived that there would be no more blood follow us; for a ſtate or affairs that are built upon blood, is a foundation, for the moſt part, that doth not proſper.

After the bleſſing that I give to the nation, to the kingdom, and truly to the parliament, I do wiſh, with all my heart, happineſs and a bleſſing to all thoſe that have been authors in this buſineſs; and truly, that have been authors in this very work that brings us hither. I do not only forgive them, but I pray heartily and really for them, as God will forgive my ſins; ſo I deſire God may forgive them.

I have a particular relation, as I am chancellor of Cambridge; and truly I muſt here, ſince it is the laſt of my prayers, pray to God that that univerſity may go on in that happy way which it is in, that God may make it a nurſery to plant thoſe perſons that may be diſtributed to the kingdom, that the ſouls of the people may receive a great benefit, and a great advantage by them; and, I hope, God will reward them for their kindneſs, and their affections, that I have found from them.

I have ſaid what religion I have been bred in, what religion I have been born in, what religion I have practiſed; I began with it, and I muſt end with it.

it. I told you that my actions and my life have not been agreeable to my breeding. I have told you that the family where I was bred hath been an exemplary family I may ſay ſo, I hope, without vanity, of much affection to religion, and of much faithfulneſs to this kingdom and to this ſtate. I have endeavoured to do thoſe actions that became an honeſt man and a good Engliſhman, and which became a good Chriſtian. I have been willing to oblige thoſe that have been in trouble, thoſe that have been in perſecution; and truly I find a great reward of it; for I have found their prayers and their kindneſs now in this diſtreſs, and in this condition; and I think it a great reward; I pray God reward them for it.

I am a great ſinner, and I hope God will be pleaſed to hear my prayers, to give me faith to truſt in him, that, as he hath called me to death at this place, he will make it but a paſſage to an eternal life through Jeſus Chriſt, which I truſt to, which I rely upon, and which I expect by the mercy of God; and ſo I pray God bleſs you all, and ſend that you may ſee this to be the laſt execution, and the laſt blood that is likely to be ſpilt among you.

Then turning to the ſide rail, he prayed for a good ſpace of time; after which Mr. Bolton ſaid:

My lord, now look upon him whom you have truſted. My lord, I hope that here is your laſt prayer: there will no more prayers remain, but praiſes; and I hope that, after this day is over, there will a day begin which ſhall never have end; and I look upon this, my lord, the morning of it, the morning of that day.

My lord, you know where your fulneſs lies; where your riches lye; where is your only rock to anchor on: you know there is fulneſs in Chriſt. If the Lord come not in with fulneſs of comfort to

you, yet reſolve to wait upon him while you live, and to truſt in him when you die; and then ſay, "I will die here, I will periſh at thy feet, I will "be found dead at the feet of Jeſus Chriſt." Certainly, he that came to ſeek and ſave loſt ſinners, will not reject loſt ſinners when they come to ſeek him; he that entreateth us to come, will not ſlight us when we come to ſeek him.

My lord, there is enough there, and fix your heart there, and fix your eyes there, that eye of faith, and that eye of hope; exerciſe theſe graces now; there will be no exerciſe hereafter. As your lordſhip ſaid, here take an end of faith, and take an end of hope, and take a farewell of repentance, and all theſe; and welcome God, and welcome Chriſt, and welcome glory, and welcome happineſs, to all eternity; and ſo it will be an happy paſſage then, if it be a paſſage here from miſery to happineſs: and, though it be but a ſad way, yet, if it will bring you into the preſence of joy, altho' it be a valley of tears, although it be a ſhadow of death, yet, if God will pleaſe to bring you, and make it a paſſage to that happineſs, welcome Lord: and I doubt not but God will give you an heart to taſte ſome ſweetneſs and love in this bitter potion, and to ſee ſomething of mercy and goodneſs to you, and ſhew you ſome ſign and token of good, ſo that your ſoul may ſee which we have had already experience of, bleſſed be God for it, many experiences, many expreſſions, not only in words nor tears; God hath not left us without much comfort and evidence, and I hope, my lord, you that have given ſo many evidences to us, I hope you want none yourſelf; but that the Lord will be pleaſed to ſupport you, and bear up your ſpirit: and, if there want evidence, there is reliance; my ſecurity lies not in knowing that I ſhall come to heaven,

and

and come to glory, but in my reſting and relying upon him. When the anchor of faith is thrown out, there may be ſhakings and toſſings, but there is ſafety; nothing ſhall interrupt ſafety, although ſomething may interrupt ſecurity: my ſafety is ſure, although I apprehend it not: and what if I go to God in the dark? What if I come to him, as Nicodemus did, ſtaggering in the night? It is a night of trouble, a night of darkneſs, though I come trembling and ſtaggering in this night, yet I ſhall be ſure to find comfort and fixedneſs in him: and the Lord of heaven be the ſtrength, ſtay, and ſupport of your ſoul, and the Lord furniſh you with all thoſe graces which may carry you into the boſom of the Lord Jeſus; that when you expire this life, you may be able to inſpire it into him, in whom you may begin to live to all eternity; and that is my humble prayer.

Holland. Mr. Bolton, God hath given me long time in this world: he hath carried me through many great accidents of fortune, he hath at laſt brought me down into a condition, where I find myſelf brought to an end, for a diſaffection to this ſtate, to this parliament, that, as I ſaid before, I did believe no body in the world more unlikely to have expected to ſuffer for that cauſe; I look upon it as a great judgment from God for my ſins: and truly, ſir, ſince that the death is violent, I am the leſs troubled with it, becauſe of thoſe violent deaths that I have ſeen before; principally my Saviour, that hath ſhewed us the way, how and in what manner he hath done it, and for what cauſe, I am the more comforted, I am the more rejoyced. It is not long ſince the king my maſter paſſed in the ſame manner; and truly I hope that his purpoſes and intentions were ſuch a man may not be aſhamed not only to follow in the way that was taken with

him, but likewiſe not aſhamed of his purpoſes, if God had given him life. I have often diſputed with him concerning many things of this kind, and I conceive his ſufferings, and his better knowledge, and better underſtanding, if God had ſpared him life, might have made him a prince very happy towards this kingdom.

I have ſeen and known that thoſe bleſſed ſouls in heaven have paſſed thither by the gate of ſorrow, and many by the gate of violence; and ſince it is God's pleaſure to diſpoſe me this way, I ſubmit my ſoul to him, with all comfort, and with all hope, that he hath made this my end, and this my concluſion, that though I be low in death, yet nevertheleſs this lowneſs ſhall raiſe me to the higheſt glory for ever.

Truly I have not ſaid much in public to the people, concerning the particular actions that I conceive I have done by my counſels in this kingdom. I conceive they are well known; it were ſomething of vanity, methinks, to take notice of them here: I'll rather die with them, with the comfort of them in my own boſom; and that I never intended in this action, or any action that I ever I did in my life, either malice or blood-ſhed, or prejudice to any creature that lives.

For that which concerns my religion, I made my profeſſion before of it, how I was bred, and in what manner I was bred, in a family that was looked upon as not little notorious in oppoſition to ſome liberties they had conceived then to be taken; and truly there was ſome mark upon me, as if I had ſome taint of it, even throughout my whole ways that I had taken: every body knows what my affections have been to many that have ſuffered, to many that have been in troubles in this kingdom, I endeavoured to relieve them, I endea-

voured

voured to oblige them; I thought I was tied ſo by my conſcience; I thought it by my charity, and truly very much by my breeding.

God hath now brought me to the laſt inſtant of my time; all that I can ſay, and all that I can adhere unto, is, That as I am a great ſinner, ſo I have a great Saviour; that as he hath given me here a fortune to come publicly in a ſhew of ſhame in the way of this ſuffering, truly I underſtand it not to be ſo, I underſtand it to be a glory; a glory, when I conſider I had no end in it, but what I conceive to be the ſervice of God, the king and the kingdom, and therefore my heart is not charged much with any thing in that particular, ſince I conceive God will accept of the intention, whatſoever the action ſeems to be. I am going to die, and the Lord receive my ſoul; I have no reliance but upon Chriſt: for myſelf, I do acknowledge that I am the unworthieſt of ſinners; my life hath been vanity, and a continued ſin, and God may juſtly bring me to this end, for the ſins I have committed againſt him, and were there nothing elſe but the iniquities that I have committed in the way of my life, I look upon this as a great juſtice of God, to bring me to this ſuffering, and to bring me to this puniſhment: and thoſe hands that have been moſt active in it, if any ſuch there have been; I pray God forgive them; I pray God that there may not be many ſuch trophies of their victories; but that this may be, as I ſaid before, the laſt ſhew that this people ſhall ſee of the blood of perſons of condition, of perſons of honour.

I might ſay ſomething of the way of our trial, which certainly hath been as extraordinary, as any thing I think hath ever been ſeen in this kingdom; but becauſe I would not ſeem as if I made ſome complaint, I will not ſo much as mention it, be-

cauſe nobody ſhall believe I repine at their actions, that I repine at my fortune; it is the will of God, it is the hand of God under whom I fall; I take it entirely from him, I ſubmit myſelf to him, I ſhall deſire to roll myſelf into the arms of my bleſſed Saviour; and when I come to this place-----pointing to the block-----when I bow down myſelf there, I hope God will raiſe me up; and when I bid farewell, as I muſt now, to hope and to faith, that love will abide. I know nothing to accompany the ſoul out of this world, but love; and I hope that love will bring me to the fountain of glory in heaven, through the arms, mediation, and the mercy of my Saviour Jeſus Chriſt; in whom I believe; O Lord help my unbelief.

Hodges. The Lord make over unto you the righteouſneſs of his own Son; it is that treaſury that he hath beſtowed upon you; and the Lord ſhew you the light of his countenance, and fill you full with his joy and kindneſs. O my dear lord, the Lord of heaven and earth be with you, and the Lord of heaven and earth bring you to that ſafety.

Holland. I ſhall make as much haſte as I can to come to that glory, and the Lord of heaven and earth take my ſoul; I look upon myſelf entirely in him, and hope to find mercy through him; I expect it; and through that fountain that is opened for ſin and for uncleanneſs, my ſoul muſt receive it; for did I reſt in any thing elſe, I have nothing but ſin and corruption in me; I have nothing but that, which, inſtead of being carried up into the arms of God, and of glory, I have nothing but may ſink me down into hell.

Bolton. But, my lord, when you are cloathed with the righteouſneſs of another, you will appear glorious, though now ſinful in yourſelf. The apoſtle ſaith, "I deſire not to be found in my own

"righteouſ-

"righteouſneſs;" and when you are cloathed with another, the Lord will own you; and I ſhall ſay but thus much: doubt not that he ever will deny ſalvation to ſinners that come to him, when the end of all his death and ſufferings was the ſalvation of ſinners; when, as I ſay, the whole end, and the whole deſign, and the great work that God had to do in the world, by the world, by the death of Chriſt, wherein he laid out all his counſels, and infinite wiſdom, and mercy, and goodneſs, beyond which there was a non ultra in God's thoughts; when this was the great deſign, and great end, the ſalvatian of poor ſinners, that poor ſouls ſhould come over to him and live; certainly when ſinners come he will not reject, he will not refuſe: and, my lord, do but think of this, the greateſt work that ever was done in the world, was the blood of Chriſt that was ſhed, never any thing like it; and this blood of Chriſt that was ſhed, was ſhed for them that come; if not for them, for none; it was in vain elſe. You ſee the devils, they are out of the capacity of it; the angels, they nave no need of it; wicked men will not come, and there are but a few that come over; and ſhould he deny them, there were no end, nor fruit of the blood and ſufferings of the Lord Jeſus: and had your lordſhip been with Chriſt in that bloody agony, when he was in that bloody ſweat, ſweating drops of blood, if you had aſked him, Lord, what art thou a-doing? art thou not now reconciling an angry God and me together? art thou not pacifying the wrath of God? art thou not interpoſing thyſelf between the juſtice of God and my ſoul? Would he not have ſaid Yea? Surely then he will not deny it now. My lord, his paſſions are over, his compaſſions ſtill re-

main, and the larger and greater becauſe he is gone up into an higher place, that he may throw down more abundance of his mercy and grace upon you; and, my lord, think of that infinite love, that abundance of riches in Chriſt. I am loſt, I am empty, I have nothing, I am poor, I am ſinful; be it ſo, as bad as God will make me, and as vile as I poſſibly can conceive myſelf, I am willing to be: but when I have ſaid all, the more I advance that riches, and honour that grace of God. And why ſhould I doubt when by this he puts me into a capacity, into a diſpoſition for him to ſhew me mercy, that by this I may the better advance the riches of his grace, and ſay Grace, grace to the Lord to all eternity; that God ſhould own ſuch a creature that deſerves nothing; and the leſs I deſerve, the more conſpicuous is his grace: and this is certain, the riches of his grace he throweth amongſt men, that the glory of his grace might be given to himſelf; if we can give him but the glory of his grace, we ſhall never doubt to partake of the riches of it; and that fulneſs, my lord, that fulneſs be your comfort; that fulneſs of mercy, that fulneſs of love; that fulneſs of righteouſneſs and power, be now your riches and your only ſtay; and the Lord interpoſe himſelf between God and you, as your faith hath endeavoured to interpoſe him between God and your ſoul; ſo I doubt not there he ſtands, my lord, to plead for you; and when you are not able to do any thing yourſelf, yet lie down at the feet of him that is a merciful Saviour, and knows what you would deſire, and wait upon him while you live, and truſt in him when you die; there is riches enough, and mercy enough; if he open not, yet die at his door; ſay There I'll die, there is mercy enough.

Holland.

Holland. And here is the place where I lie down before him, from whence I hope he will raiſe me to an eternal glory through my Saviour, upon whom I rely, from whom only I can expect mercy. Into his arms I commend my ſpirit; into his bleeding arms; that when I leave this bleeding body, that muſt lie upon this place, he will receive that ſoul that ariſeth out of it, and receive it into his eternal mercy, through the merits, through the worthineſs, through the mediation of Chriſt, that hath purchaſed it with his own moſt precious blood.

Bolton. My lord, though you conclude here, I hope you begin above; and though you put an end here, I hope there will never be an end of the mercy and goodneſs of God: and if this be the morning of eternity, if this be the riſe of glory, if God pleaſeth to throw you down here, to raiſe you up for ever, ſay, Welcome Lord, welcome that death that ſhall make way for life; and welcome any condition that ſhall throw me down here to bring me into the poſſeſſion of Jeſus Chriſt.

Hodges. My lord, if you have made a deed of gift of yourſelf to Jeſus Chriſt, to be found only in him; I am confident that you ſhall ſtand at the day of Chriſt; my dear lord, we ſhall meet in happineſs.

Holland. Chriſt Jeſus receive my ſoul; my ſoul hungers and thirſts after him; clouds are gathering, and I truſt in God through all my heavineſs, and I hope through all impediments, he will ſettle my intereſt in him, and throw off all the claim that Satan can make to it; and that he will carry my ſoul, in deſpight of all the calumnies, and all that the devil, and Satan can invent, will carry it into eternal mercy, there to receive the bleſſedneſs of his preſence to all eternity.

Hodges

Hodges. My lord, it was his own by the creation, it is his own now by the redemption and purchaſe; and it is likewiſe his own by reſignation. Oh, my lord, look therefore up to the Lamb of God, that ſits at the right hand of God, to take away the ſins of the world: Oh that Lamb of God!

Holland. That Lamb of God, into his hands I commit my ſoul; and that Lamb of God that ſits upon the throne to judge thoſe twenty-four that fall down before him, I hope he will be pleaſed to look downward, and judge me with mercy that fall down before him, and that adore him, that only truſts upon his mercy, for his compaſſion; and that, as he hath purchaſed me, he would lay his claim unto me now, and receive me.

Bolton. My lord, think of this, there is no condemnation to them who are in Chriſt; who is it that can condemn? it is Chriſt that juſtifies; and therefore look now upon this, my lord, upon this Chriſt, upon this Chriſt that juſtifies: hell, death, ſin, Satan; nothing ſhall be able to condemn, it is Chriſt that juſtifies you.

Holland. Indeed, if Chriſt juſtify, nobody can condemn; and I truſt in God, in his juſtification; though there is a confuſion here without us, and though there are wonders and ſtaring that now diſquiet; yet I truſt that I ſhall be carried into that mercy, that God will receive my ſoul.

Bolton. I doubt not, my lord, but as you are a ſpectacle of pity here, ſo you are an object of God's mercy above.

Then the earl of Holland, looking over among the people, pointing to a ſoldier, ſaid, This honeſt man took me a priſoner: you little thought I ſhould have been brought to this, when I deliver'd myſelf to you upon conditions. Eſpying captain Watſon

Watſon on horſeback, putting off his hat, ſaid to him, God be with you, ſir; God reward you ſir.

Bolton. My lord, throw yourſelf into the arms of mercy, and ſay, There will I anchor, and there I will die; he is a ſaviour for us, in all condtions, whither ſhould we go? He hath the works of eternal life; and upon him do you reſt; wait while you live, and even truſt in death.

Holland. Here muſt now be my anchor; a great ſtorm makes me now find my anchor; and but in ſtorms no body truſts to his anchor; and therefore I muſt truſt upon my anchor, (upon that God, ſaid Mr. Bolton, upon whom your anchor truſts) yea, God, I hope, will anchor my ſoul faſt upon Chriſt Jeſus; and if I die not with that clearneſs, and that heartineſs, that you ſpeak of, truly I will truſt in God; though he kill me, I will rely upon him, and in the mercy of my Saviour.

Bolton. There is mercy enough, my lord, and to ſpare, you ſhall not need to doubt; they ſhall never go begging to another door, my lord, that come to him.

Then the earl of Holland, ſpeaking to Mr. Hodges, ſaid, "I pray God reward you for all "your kindneſs; and pray, as you have done, in-"ſtruct my family that they may ſerve God with "faithfulneſs and holineſs, with more diligence "than truly I have been careful to preſs them "unto: you have the charge of the ſame place; "you may do much for them, and I recommend "them to your kindneſs and the goodneſs of your "conſcience."

Dr. Sibbald, ſtanding upon the ſcaffold, in his paſſage to colonel Beecher, expreſſed himſelf thus to his lordſhip:

The lord lift up the light of his countenance upon you, and you ſhall be ſafe.

Then

Then the earl of Holland embraced the lieutenant-colonel Beecher, and took his leave of him: after which he came to Mr. Bolton, and having embraced him, returned him many thanks for his great pains and affections to his ſoul; deſiring God to reward him, and return his love into his boſom.

Mr. Bolton ſaid to him, The Lord God ſupport you, and be ſeen in this great extremity; the Lord reveal and diſcover himſelf to you, and make your death the paſſage unto eternal life.

Then the earl of Holland turning to the executioner, ſaid, Here, my friend, let my cloaths and my body alone; there is ten pounds for thee, that is better than my cloaths, I am ſure of it.

Executioner. Will your lordſhip pleaſe to give me a ſign when I ſhall ſtrike?

Holland. You have room enough here, have you not?

Executioner. Yes.

Bolton. The Lord be your ſtrength, there is riches in him: the Lord of heaven impart himſelf to you, he is able to ſave to the uttermoſt: we cannot fall ſo low as to fall below the everlaſting arms of God; and therefore the Lord be a ſupport and ſtay to you in your low condition, that he will be pleaſed to make this an advantage to that life and glory that will make amends for all.

Then the earl then turning to the executioner, ſaid, "Friend, do you hear me? If you take up "my head, do not take off my cap." Then turning to his ſervants, he ſaid to one, "Fare you "well, thou art an honeſt fellow." To another, "God be with thee, thou art an honeſt man." He then ſaid, "Stay; I will kneel down, and aſk "God forgiveneſs;" and then prayed for a pretty ſpace with ſeeming earneſtneſs.

Bolton. The Lord grant you may find life in death.

Holland.

Holland. Which is the way of lying? It was ſhewn him. Then going to the front of the ſcaffold, he ſaid to the people, "God bleſs you all, "and God deliver you from any ſuch accidents as "may bring you to any ſuch death as is violent, "either by war, or by theſe accidents; but that "there may be peace among you, and you may "find that theſe accidents that have happened to "us, may be the laſt that may happen in this king-"dom. I pray God give all happineſs to this "kingdom, to this people, and to this nation." Then turning to the executioner, ſaid, "How muſt "I lie? I know not."

Executioner. Lie down flat upon your belly.

Then having laid himſelf down, he ſaid, "Muſt "I lie cloſer?"

Executioner. Yes, and backwarder.

Holland. I will tell you when you ſhall ſtrike; and then as he lay ſeemed to pray affectionately for a ſhort ſpace, and then lifting up his head, ſaid, Where is the man? and ſeeing the executioner by him, he ſaid, Stay while I give the ſign; and preſently after ſtretching out his hand, and the executioner being not fully ready, he ſaid, Now, Now; and juſt as the words were coming out of his mouth, the executioner, at one blow, ſevered his head from his body.

Arthur, Lord Capel.

THE execution of the lord Rich being performed as before recited, the lord Capel was brought to the ſcaffold as the former; and in the way to the ſcaffold, he put off his hat to the people on both ſides, looking very auſterely about him; and being come upon the ſcaffold, lieutenant-colonel Beecher ſaid to him, "Is your chap-"lain here?"

Capel. No; I have taken my leave of him. Perceiving ſome of his ſervants to weep, he ſaid, "Gentlemen, refrain yourſelves; refrain your-"ſelves;" and turning to lieutanant-colonel Beecher, he ſaid, "What? did the lords ſpeak "with their hats off, or no?"

Colonel Beecher. With their hats off.

Coming to the front of the ſcaffold, he ſaid, "I "ſhall hardly be underſtood here I think;" and then began his ſpeech, as followeth:

"The concluſion that I made with thoſe that ſent me hither, and are the cauſe of this violent death of mine, ſhall be the beginning of what I ſhall ſay to you. When I made an addreſs to them, which was the laſt, I told them with much ſincerity, that I would pray to the God of all mercies that they might be partakers of his ineſtimable and boundleſs mercies in Jeſus Chriſt; and truly I ſtill pray that prayer; and I beſeech the God of heaven forgive any injury they have done to me; from my ſoul I wiſh it: and truly this I tell you as a Chriſtian. But it is neceſſary I ſhould tell you ſomething more, that I am a proteſtant: and truly, I am

am very much in love with the profeſſion of it, after the manner it was eſtabliſhed in England by the thirty-nine articles:---A bleſſed way of profeſſion, and ſuch an one, as truly I never knew any ſo good. I am ſo far from being a papiſt, which ſomebody have, truly very unworthily, at ſome time charged me withal, that truly I profeſs to you, that though I love good works, and commend good works, yet I hold they have nothing at all to do in the matter of ſalvation; my anchor-hold is, That Chriſt loved me, and gave himſelf for me; that is, that I reſt upon.

"And truly I ſhall ſay ſomething to you as a citizen of the whole world; and in that conſideration I am here condemned to die; truly contrary to the law that governs all the world; that is, the law of the ſword. I had the protection of that for my life, and the honour of it; but truly I will not trouble you much with that, becauſe in another place I have ſpoken very largely and liberally about it. I believe you will hear, by other means, what arguments I uſed in that caſe: but truly, that, that is ſtranger, you that are Engliſhmen, behold here an Engliſhman before you, an acknowledged peer, not condemned to die by any law of England, not by any law of England; and, ſhall I tell you more, which is the ſtrangeſt of all, contrary to all the laws of England that I know of? And truly I will tell you, in the matter of the civil part of my death, and the cauſe that I have maintained, I die, I take it, for maintaining the fifth commandment, enjoined by God himſelf, which enjoins reverence and obedienee to parents. All divines, on all hands, though they contradict one another in their many ſeveral opinions, yet all divines, on all hands, do acknowledge, that here is intended magiſtracy and order; and certainly I have obeyed

that

that magiſtracy and that order under which I have lived, which I was bound to obey: and truly I do ſay very confidently, that I do die here for keeping, for obeying that fifth commandment, given by God himſelf, and written with his own finger.

"And now, gentlemen, I will take this opportunity to tell you, That I cannot imitate a better, nor a greater ingenuity than his, that ſaid of himſelf, For ſuffering an unjuſt judgment upon another, himſelf was brought to ſuffer by an unjuſt judgment.

"Truly, gentlemen, that God may be glorified, that all men that are concerned in it may take the occaſion of it, of humble repentance to God almighty for it, I do here profeſs to you, that I did give my vote to that bill againſt the earl of Strafford. I doubt not but God almighty hath waſhed that away with a more precious blood, the blood of his own Son, and my dear Saviour, Jeſus Chriſt; and I hope he will waſh it away from all thoſe that are guilty of it. Truly, this I may ſay, I had not the leaſt part or degree of malice in doing it; but I muſt confeſs again, to God's glory, and the accuſation of my own frailty, and the frailty of my nature, that truly it was unworthy cowardice, not to reſiſt ſo great a torrent as carried that buſineſs at that time. And truly, this I think I am moſt guilty of, of not courage enough in it, but malice I had none; but whatſoever it was, God, I am ſure, hath pardoned it, hath given me the aſſurance of it, that Chriſt Jeſus his blood hath waſhed it away; and truly I do from my ſoul wiſh, that all men that have any ſtain by it, may ſeriouſly repent, and receive remiſſion and pardon from God for it.

And now, gentlemen, we have had an occaſion, by this intimation, to remember his majeſty, our king

king that laſt was; and I cannot ſpeak of him, nor think of it, but truly, I muſt needs ſay, that, in my opinion, that have had time to conſider all the images of all the greateſt and virtuouſeſt princes in the the world; and truly, in my opinion, there was not a more virtuous, and more ſufficient prince known in the world, than our gracious king Charles that died laſt. God Almighty preſerve our king that new is, his ſon; God ſend him more fortunate and longer days; God Almighty ſo aſſiſt him, that he may exceed both the virtues and ſufficiencies of his father; for certainly I, that have been a councellor to him, and have lived long with him, and in a time when diſcovery is eaſily enough made, for he was young, he was about thirteen, fourteen, fifteen, or ſixteen years of age, thoſe years I was with him; truly, I never ſaw greater hopes of virtue in any young perſon than in him; great judgment, great underſtanding, great apprehenſion, much honour in his nature, and truly a very perfect Engliſhman in his inclination; and I pray God reſtore him to this kingdom, and unite the kingdoms one unto another, and ſend a great happineſs both to you and to him, that he may long live and reign among you, and that family may reign till Thy kingdom come; that is, while all temporal power is conſummated. I beſeech God of his mercy give much happineſs to this your king, and to you that in it ſhall be his ſubjects by the grace of Jeſus Chriſt.

Truly I like my beginning ſo well, that I will make my concluſion with it; that is, That God Almighty would confer, of his infinite and ineſtimable grace and mercy, to thoſe that are the cauſers of my coming hither, I pray God give them as much mercy as their hearts can wiſh; and truly, for my part, I will not accuſe any one of

them of malice, truly I will not; nay, I will not think there was any malice in them: what other ends there is, I know not, nor will I examine; but let it be what it will, from my very ſoul I forgive them, every one: and ſo the Lord of heaven bleſs you all, God Almighty be infinite in his goodneſs and mercy to you, and direct you in thoſe ways of obedience to his commands, to his majeſty, that this kingdom may be an happy and glorious nation again, and that your king may be an happy king, in ſo good and ſo obedient people: God Almighty keep you, God Almighty preſerve your kingdom, God Almighty preſerve you all."

Then turning about, and looking about for the executioner, who was gone off the ſcaffold, ſaid, "Which is the gentleman, which is the man?" Anſwer was made, "He is coming." He then ſaid, "Stay, I muſt pull off my doublet firſt and my waiſtcoat:" and then the executioner being come upon the ſcaffold, the lord Capel ſaid, "Oh my friend! pr'ythee come hither." Then the executioner kneeling down, the lord Capel ſaid, "I forgive thee from my ſoul; and not only forgive thee, but I ſhall pray God to give thee all grace for a better life. There is five pounds for thee; and truly, for my clothes, and thoſe things, if there be any due to you for it, you ſhall be fully recompenced: but I deſire my body may not be ſtripped here, and no body to take notice of my body but my own ſervants. Look you, friend, this I ſhall deſire of you, that when I lie down, you would give me a time for a particular ſhort prayer,"

Lieu. Col. Beecher. Make your own ſign, my lord.

Capel. Stay a little. Which ſide do you ſtand upon?" ſpeaking to the executioner. "Stay, I think I ſhould lay my hands forward that way," pointing

pointing foreright: and anſwer being made "Yes," he ſtood a little while, and then ſaid, "God Almighty bleſs all his people; God Almighty ſtanch this blood; God Almighty ſtanch, ſtanch, ſtanch this iſſue of blood; this will do the buſineſs. God Almighty find out another way to do it." And then turning to one of his ſervants, ſaid, "Baldwin, I cannot ſee any thing that belongs to my wife; but I deſire thee, and beſeech her, to reſt wholly upon Jeſus Chriſt, to be contented and fully ſatisfied." And then ſpeaking to his ſervants, he ſaid, "God keep you; and, gentlemen, let me now do a buſineſs quickly, privately; and pray let me have your prayers at the moment of death, that God would receive my ſoul."

Lieu. Col. Beecher. I wiſh it.

Capel. Pray at the moment of ſtriking join your prayers, but make no noiſe---turning to his ſervants ---it is inconvenient at this time.

Servant. My lord put on your cap.

Capel. Should I, what will that do me good? Stay a little, it is well as it is now.----As he was putting up his hair.

And then turning to the executioner, he ſaid, "Honeſt man, I have forgiven thee, therefore ſtrike boldly; from my ſoul I do it.

Then a gentleman ſpeaking to him, he ſaid, "Nay, die contented; be quiet, good Mr. ---- be quiet.

Then turning to the executioner, he ſaid, "Well, you are ready when I am ready, are you not;" and ſtretching out his hands he ſaid, "Then pray ſtand off, gentlemen." Then going to the front of the ſcaffold, he ſaid to the people, "Gentlemen, tho' I doubt not of it, yet I think it convenient to aſk of you, That you would all join in prayers with me, That God would mercifully receive my ſoul,

and that for his alone mercies in Chriſt Jeſus. God Almighty keep you all.

Execut. My lord ſhall I put up your hair?

Capel. I, pr'ythee do. And then as he ſtood, lifting up his hands and eyes, he ſaid, "O God, I do, with a perfect and willing heart, ſubmit to thy will. O God, I do moſt willingly humble myſelf:" and then kneeling down, ſaid, "I will try firſt how I can lye;" and laying his head over the block, ſaid, "Am I well now?"

Execut. Yes.

And then, as he lay with both his hands ſtretched out, he ſaid to the executioner, "Here lie both my hands out, when I lift up my hand thus-----lifting up his right hand, then you may ſtrike.

And then, after he ſaid a ſhort prayer, he lifted up his right hand, and the executioner at one blow ſevered his head from his body, which was taken up by his ſervants, and put with his body into a coffin as the former.

THE

The Manner of the Death and Sufferings of the right honourable James, Earl of Derby, upon the Scaffold at Bolton in Lancaſhire; together with a true Copy of his Speech, Deportment and Prayer before his Death, on Wedneſday, the fifteenth Day of October, 1651.

THE earl of Derby, according to the order of the court-martial held at Cheſter, by which he was ſentenced to die at Bolton in Lancaſhire, was brought to that town with a guard of horſe and foot of colonel Jones's, commanded by one Southley, who received his order from colonel Robert Duckenfield, betwixt twelve and one of the clock, on Wedneſday, the fifteenth of October, the people weeping, praying, and bewailing him all the way from the priſon at Cheſter to the place of his death.

He was brought to a houſe in the town near the croſs, where the ſcaffold was raiſed; and as he paſſed by ſaid, "Venio Domine: I am prepared to fulfil thy will, O my God. This ſcaffold muſt be my croſs; bleſſed Saviour, I take it up willingly, and follow thee." From thence going into a chamber with ſome friends and ſervants, he was advertiſed by the commander in chief, that he had till three of the clock allowed him to prepare for death; for indeed the ſcaffold was not ready, the

people of the town and country generally refuſing to carry ſo much as a plank, or ſtrike a nail, or to lend any aſſiſtance to that work, their cry being generally in the ſtreets, "Oh ſad day! Oh woful "day! ſhall the good earl of Derby die here? Many ſad loſſes have we had in this war, but none like unto this; for now the ancient honour of our country muſt ſuffer here.

To add to this trouble, moſt of the timber that built the ſcaffold was of the ruins of Latham houſe; but nothing could alter his lordſhip's reſolution and courage; for with a ſtedfaſt compoſed countenance, he called the company which were preſent to prayers with him, wherein he ſhewed admirable fervency, and a kind of humble importunity with almighty God, that he would pardon his ſins, be merciful to his ſoul, and be gracious to this land, in reſtoring the king, laws and liberty; and that he would be a huſband to his wife, a father to his children, and a friend to all thoſe that ſuffered by his loſs, or that had been friends to him.

Riſing from prayer, he ſat down with a very pleaſing countenance, and aſſured the ſtanders by, that God had heard his prayers, which the bleſſed ſpirit of God witneſſed unto him, in the preſent comforts he now felt in his ſoul. Then he entered into a diſcourſe of his life, and beſeeched God to forgive him the days and time he had miſpent; and ſaid it was his comfort, that, although he had not walked ſo circumſpectly as he ought to have done, yet he ever had a ſenſe of his ſins, and a tender reſpect to all the ſervices, ſervants and ordinances of his God; and that he knew God had mercy for him, that he had ſtrengthened and comforted him againſt all the terrors of death.

His

His next buſineſs was with his ſon, the lord Strange, whom he publicly charged to be dutiful to his ſad mother, affectionate to his diſtreſſed brothers and ſiſters, and ſtudious of the peace of his country: "but eſpecially," ſaid he, "ſon, I I charge you, upon my bleſſing, and upon the bleſſings you expect from God, to be ever dutiful to your diſtreſſed mother, ever obedient to her commands, and ever tender how you in any thing grieve or offend her. She is a perſon well known to the moſt eminent perſonages of England, France, Germany and Holland; noted for piety, prudence, and all honourable virtues; and certainly the more you are obedient to her, the more you will encreaſe in favour with God and man.

Then he deſired to be private in the room himſelf; where he was obſerved to be about half an hour upon his knees with frequent interjections of groans and ſighs before his God. Then he called the company in again, and his eyes witneſſed to them that he had abundantly mixed his tears with his prayers; he told them that he was very willing to leave the world, being aſſured, by the teſtimony of God's ſpirit, that he ſhould be carried from trouble to reſt and peace, from ſorrow to joy, from life to death, and that death had no other bitterneſs in it to him, but that it took him from his dear wife and children; whom he humbly commended to the protection and providence of a better huſband, and a better father; and that he did not doubt, but that the general, and they who ſat in the ſeat of authority, would make proviſion for them, hoping that his death might ſatisfy all thoſe who ſought his life, whom he freely forgave, and deſired God to do the like.

Then calling for his ſon, he took his leave of him, and bleſſed him; which indeed would have

grieved any one's heart, though ever ſo hardened, to ſee the parting of him now with his ſon, and with his two daughters, the lady Catharine, and the lady Amely Stanley, upon the road between Cheſter and Bolton the day before.

This ended, he called the officer, and told him he was ready. In his way to the ſcaffold, the people prayed, and wept, and cried aloud; to whom his lordſhip with a cheerful countenance, and courteous humbleneſs, ſaid, "Good people, I thank you, and beſeech you ſtill pray for me, and our bleſſed God return your prayers back into your own boſoms: the God of mercies bleſs you; the Son of God eſtabliſh you in righteouſneſs, and the Holy Ghoſt fill you with all comforts."

Coming near the ſcaffold, he looked up and ſaid, "God, I thank thee; I am not afraid to go up here, though I am to die there; there are but theſe few ſteps to my eternity." Then kiſſing the ladder, he went up and ſaluted the people; he walked a turn or two upon the ſcaffold, then went to the eaſt end of it, and pulled off his hat again, and ſaluted the people with a cheerful countenance, ſaying, "I am come, by the will of my Heavenly Father, to die in this place; and, I thank God, I do with all willingneſs and readineſs ſubmit to his moſt bleſſed will.

"'Tis a place I deſired to ſee when I was laſt in the country, both for the mutual obligations that have been betwixt this town and my family, as alſo for your particular reſpects to me, whom I have underſtood to be ready to clear me from that foul imputation, That I was a man of blood; and that, particularly, I killed one Bootle here in cold blood. I doubt not but there are here many preſent, both that day this town was taken, and divers other times during this war, that can juſtify I preſerved

ſerved many lives; but I know there is not any one preſent that can lay the blood of any man whatſoever to my charge, unleſs what might caſually happen in the fury and heat of a battle.

"As for my being in arms in the beginning of this war, I profeſs here, in the preſence of God, before whom, within a few minutes, I muſt make a profeſſion, I only ſought for peace, and ſettling the late king my maſter in his juſt rights, and the maintainance of the laws of this land; and that I had no other deſign, intent, or purpoſe, for my then taking up arms: and for this laſt engagement, I profeſs here again, in the preſence of the ſame God, that I did it for reſtoring of my lawful ſovereign into the throne, out of which his father was moſt unchriſtianly and barbarouſly taken, by the moſt unjuſt ſentence of a pretended court of juſtice, and himſelf againſt law and all juſtice, kept out and diſpoſſeſt of: and this was all my reaſon.

"Good friends, I die for the king, the laws of the land, and the proteſtant religion, as maintained in the church of England; all which, as I was ready to maintain with my life, ſo I cheerfully ſuffer for them in this welcome death."

At the words King and Laws, a trooper ſaid aloud, "We will neither have king, lord, nor laws; and upon a ſudden the ſoldiers, being either ſurprized with fear at a ſtrange noiſe that was heard, or elſe falling into mutiny, preſently fell into a tumult, riding up and down the ſtreets, cuting and ſlaſhing the people, ſome being killed and many wounded.

His lordſhip looking upon this ſad ſpectacle, ſaid thus, "Gentlemen, it troubles me more than my own death, that others are hurt, and, I fear, die for me. I beſeech you ſtay your hands, I fly not, you purſue not me, and here are none to purſue you."

you." But being interrupted in his ſpeech, he turned aſide to his ſervant, and gave him the ſpeech into his hand, ſaying, "I will ſpeak to my God, who I know will hear me; and when I am dead, let the world know what I would have ſaid." Here his lordſhip was interrupted; but it was as follows, in his own copy, under his own hand.

"I am ſentenced to death by a council of war, after quarter for life, and aſſurance of honourable and ſafe uſage by captain Edge. I had reaſon to have expected the council would have juſtified my plea, which hath been ancient, honourable, ſacred and unviolable, until this time that I am made the firſt ſuffering precedent; for I dare affirm it, that never gentleman before, in any Chriſtian nation, was adjudged to death by a council of war after quarter given. I am the firſt, and I pray God I may be the laſt precedent in this caſe. But I forgive them freely, and pray God, for Chriſt's ſake, to forgive them alſo.

Of my faith and religion, I ſhall not, I hope, need to ſay much; herein I hope my enemies, if now I have any, will ſpeak for me. I profeſs my faith to be in God only, from whom I look for ſalvation, through the precious merits and ſufferings of my bleſſed Saviour Jeſus Chriſt; which merits and ſufferings are applied to my ſoul, by the bleſſed ſpirit of comfort, the ſpirit of God, by whom I am aſſured in my own ſoul, that my God is reconciled unto me in Jeſus Chriſt my bleſſed Redeemer.

I die a dutiful ſon to the church of England, as it was eſtabliſhed in the bleſſed prince my late maſter's reign; which all men of learning and temperance will acknowledge, to be the moſt pure and agreeable to the word of God, and primitive government,

government, of any church within twelve or thirteen hundred years ſince Chriſt; and which, to my great comfort, I left eſtabliſhed in the Iſle of Man. God preſerve it there, and reſtore it to this nation."

Preſently after the tumult was over, his lordſhip called for the headſman, and aſked to ſee the axe, and taking it in his hand, ſaid, "Friend, I will not hurt it, and I am ſure it cannot hurt me;" and then kiſſing it, ſaid, "Methinks this is a weding ring, which is as a ſign I am to leave all the world, and eternally be married to my Saviour." Then putting his hand in his pocket, ſaid to the headſman. "Here, friend, take theſe two pieces, all that I have; thou muſt be my prieſt, I pray thee do thy work well and effectually. Then handling the rough furred coat the headſman had on, "This," ſays he, "will be troubleſome to thee; I pray thee put it off, and do it as willingly as I put off this garment of my fleſh, that is now ſo heavy for my ſoul." Then ſome of the ſtanders by bid the headſman kneel, and aſk his lordſhip's pardon; but he did not, but was ſurly and crabbed: but his lordſhip ſaid, "Friend, I give thee the pardon thou wilt not aſk, and God forgive thee alſo." Then turning up his eyes to heaven, ſaid aloud, "How long, Lord? How long?" Then gently paſſing over the ſcaffold, and ſeeing one of his chaplains on horſeback among the people," ſaid he, "pray for me, and the Lord return your prayers into your own boſom, and I pray remember me kindly to your brother, and God remember him for his love to me and mine."

Then turning towards his coffin, "Thou art," ſaid he, "my bridal chamber; in thee I ſhall reſt without a guard, and ſleep without ſoldiers."

Then

Then looking towards the block, he aſked if all were ready. "That," ſaid he, "methinks is very low, and yet there is but one ſtep betwixt that and heaven." Then turning his eyes to the people, he ſaluted them, and deſired again their prayers. Then ſaid, "I ſee your tears, and hear your ſighs and groans, and prayers. The God of heaven hear and grant your ſupplications for me, and mine for you, and the mediation of Chriſt Jeſus for us all."

Here his lordſhip cauſed the block to be turned, that he might look upon the church, ſaying, "Whilſt I am here, I will look towards thy holy ſanctuary, and I know that within a few minutes I ſhall behold thee, my God and King, in thy ſanctuary above; under the ſhadow of thy wings ſhall be my reſt till this calamity be overpaſt. Then he pulled off his blue garter, and ſent it to his ſon; and pulling off his doublet, with a very religious cheerfulneſs he ſaid, "I come, Lord Jeſus; and Oh come thou quickly, that I may be with thee for ever." Upon this he ſaid, "Pray tell me how muſt I lie? I have been called a bloody man, yet truly I never yet had that ſevere curioſity to ſee any man put to death in peace." Then laying himſelf down on the block, after a few minutes he roſe again, and cauſed the block to be a little removed. Then ſaid to the headſman, "Friend, remember what I ſaid to thee; and be no more afraid to ſtrike than I to die; and when I put up my hand, do thy work." So looking round about upon his friends and the people, he ſaid, "The Lord bleſs you all; and once more pray for me:" at which words he kneeled down and prayed privately within himſelf, with great ſighings, about half a quarter of an hour, coucluding with the Lord's prayer. Then riſing up again, he ſaid ſmilingly, "My ſoul

is

is now at reſt, and ſo ſhall my body be immediately. The Lord bleſs my king, and reſtore him to his right in this kingdom, and reſtore them to their rights in their king; that he and they may join hand in hand, to ſettle truth and peace; and the Lord bleſs this county, and this town, and this people. The Lord comfort my ſad wife and children, and reward all my friends with peace and happineſs, both here and hereafter; and the Lord forgive them who were the cauſe and authors of this my ſad end and unjuſt death, for ſo it is as to mankind, though before God I deſerve much worſe; but I hope my ſins are all bathed in the blood of Jeſus Chriſt." So laying his head upon the block, and his arms ſtretched out, he ſaid theſe words:

"Bleſſed be God's name for ever and ever. Let the whole earth be filled with his glory. Amen, Amen."

At which words he gave the headſman the ſign; but he either not obſerving it, or not being ready, ſtayed too long, ſo that his lordſhip roſe up again ſaying, "Why do you keep me from my Saviour? What have I done that I die not, and that I may live with him? Once more I will lay me down in peace, and ſo take my everlaſting reſt."

Then ſaying, "Come, Lord Jeſus, come quickly," he ſtretched out his arms, and gave the ſign, repeating the ſame words:

"Bleſſed be God's name for ever and ever. Let the whole earth be filled with his glory. Amen, Amen."

Then lifting up his hand, the executioner did his work at one blow, all the people weeping and giving all expreſſions of grief and lamentation.

When the corps was carried off the ſcaffold, they carried it to a houſe in the town, where was thrown into his coffin in a piece of paper theſe two lines:

Upon

Upon JAMES, Earl of DERBY.

Bounty, wit, courage, all (here) in one lie dead:
A Stanley's hand, Vere's heart, and Cecil's head.

The Sentence of the Council of War.

Reſolved by the court upon the queſtion,

That James, earl of Derby, is guilty of the breach of the act of the twelfth of Auguſt, 1651, laſt paſt, entitled, An act prohibiting correſpondence with Charles Stuart, or his party; and ſo of high-treaſon againſt the commonwealth of England, and is therefore worthy of death.

Reſolved by the court,

That the ſaid James, earl of Derby, is a traitor to the commonwealth of England, and an abettor, encourager and aſſiſter of the declared traitors and enemies thereof, and ſhall be put to death by ſevering his head from his body, at the market-place in the town of Bolton in Lancaſhire, upon Wedneſday, the fifteenth day of this inſtant, October, about the hour of one of the clock of the ſame day.

A perfect Relation of the Death and Sufferings of the moſt loyal and valiant Marquis of Montroſs, General of his Majeſty's Forces in the Kingdom of Scotland, who was inhumanly executed at Edinburgh on the ſeventeenth of May, 1650, with the true Copy of his Speech immediately before his Execution.

THE parliament of Scotland being informed that the marquis of Montroſs was taken, and foreſeeing that his countenance and carriage might gain him ſome favour amongſt the people, thought fit to give out their ſentence againſt him before he ſhould come to Edinburgh; and therefore, upon the ſeventeenth of May, anno 1650, in the morning, they appointed a committee to prepare and give in their opinions what was fitteſt to be done with him; where, the ſame forenoon, they in their report in writing to this effect: That ſo ſoon as he ſhould come to the town, he ſhould be met at the gate by the magiſtrates and hangman; that he ſhould he tied with chords upon a cart bare-headed, and the hangman to ride upon the horſe that drew the cart covered before him, and ſo to be brought through the town: that he ſhould be hanged on a gibbet at the croſs of Edinburgh until he died, his hiſtory and declaration hanging about his neck, and ſo hang three hours in public view of all the people; after which he ſhould

ſhould be beheaded and quartered: his head to be fixed upon the priſon houſe of Edinburgh, and his legs and arms over the gates of the cities of Sterling, Glaſcow, Perth, alias St. John's-Town, and Aberdeen: and, in caſe he repented, (whereby the ſentence of excommunication may be taken off by the church) the bulk of his body ſhould be buried in the Grey-Friers; if not, to be buried in the Borrow-moor.

Upon the eighteenth day, about four o'clock in the afternoon, he was brought in at the water-gate, and, according to the ſentence, was met by the magiſtrates, the guards and the hangman of the city, the reſt of the priſoners being tyed two and two together, going bare-headed before him.

So ſoon as he came within the gate, the magiſtrates ſhewed him the ſentence; which when he had read, and perceived the cart, and the hangman there ready, he ſaid, He would willingly obey, he was only ſorry that through him his majeſty, whoſe perſon he preſented, ſhould be ſo diſhonoured. Then going cheerfully into the cart, he being uncovered, was by the hangman tyed thereunto with ropes, and the hangman on the horſe rid covered.

Thus was he carried to the priſon, and in all the way there appeared in him ſuch a majeſty, courage, and modeſty, no way daunted, that his very enemies, nay common women, who as it was believed by divers would have ſtoned him in the cart as he paſſed, were upon the ſight of him ſo aſtoniſhed, and moved, that their intended curſes were turned into tears and prayers for him; inſomuch as the next day, being Sunday, the miniſters preached againſt them for not reviling and ſtoning him as he paſſed along.

When

When he was taken from the cart, he gave the hangman gold, telling him, That was a reward for driving the cart. It was ſeven o'clock at night before he was entered into the priſon, and immediately the parliament met, and ſent ſome of their members, and ſome miniſters, to examine him; but he refuſed to anſwer any thing to them, until he was ſatisfied upon what terms they ſtood with the king, his royal maſter; which being reported unto the parliament, they ceaſed proceeding againſt him till Monday, and allowed their commiſſioners to tell him, that the king and they were agreed. He deſired to be at reſt, for he was weary with a long journey: and ſaid, The compliment they had put upon him that day was ſomewhat tedious.

The next day being Sunday, he was conſtantly attended by miniſters and parliament men, who ſtill purſued him with threatnings; but they got no advantage of him. He told them, They thought they had affronted him the day before by carrying him in a cart, but they were much miſtaken; for he thought it the moſt honourable and joyfulleſt journey that ever he made, God having all the while moſt comfortably manifeſted his preſence to him, and furniſhed him with reſolution to overlook the reproaches of men, and to behold him for whoſe cauſe he ſuffered.

Upon Monday in the forenoon he was brought before the parliament, and after the delivery of a long penned diſcourſe by the chancellor, wherein he was pleaſed to take notice of his miſcarriages againſt the firſt covenant, the league and covenant, his invaſion, and joining with the Iriſh rebels, and blood-guiltineſs; and that now, how God had brought him to juſt puniſhment; he deſired to know, if he might be allowed to ſpeak for himſelf; which being granted he ſaid,

" Since you have declared unto me, that you have agreed with the king, I look upon you, as if his majeſty were ſitting amongſt you; and in that relation I appear with this reverence, bare-headed. My care hath been always to walk as became a good Chriſtian, and a loyal ſubject. I engaged in the firſt covenant, and was faithful to it, until I perceived ſome private perſons, under colour of religion, intended to wring the authority from the king, and to ſeize on it for themſelves; and when it was thought fit, for the clearing of honeſt men, that a bond ſhould be ſubſcribed, wherein the ſecurity of religion was ſufficiently provided for, I ſubſcribed. For the league and covenant, I thank God I was never in it, and ſo could not break it; but how far religion hath been advanced by it, and the ſad conſequences that have followed on it, theſe poor diſtreſſed kingdoms can witneſs: for when his late majeſty had, by the bleſſing of God, almoſt ſubdued thoſe enemies thas roſe againſt him in arms in England, and that a faction of this kingdom went in to the aſſiſtance of them; his majeſty gave commiſſion to me, to come into this kingdom, and to make a diverſion of thoſe forces that were going from hence againſt him. I acknowledged the command moſt juſt, I conceived myſelf bound in conſcience and duty to obey it. What my carriage was in this country, many of you may bear witneſs: diſorders in any army cannot be prevented, but they were no ſooner known than puniſhed; never was any blood ſpilt but in battle; and, even then, many thouſand lives have I preſerved; and, as I came in upon his majeſty's warrant, ſo, upon his letters, did I lay aſide all intereſt, and retreated.

" And for my coming in at this time, it was by his majeſty's command, in order to the accele-

rating

rating of the treaty betwixt him and you; his majeſty knowing, that when ever he had ended with you, I was ready to retire upon his call. I may juſtly ſay, that never ſubject acted upon more honourable grounds, nor by a more lawful power than I did in this ſervice; and therefore I deſire you to lay aſide all prejudice, and conſider me as a Chriſtian, in relation to the juſtice of the quarrel; as a ſubject, in relation to my royal maſter's commands; and as your neighbour, in relation to the many of your lives I have preſerved in battle: and be not too raſh, but let me be judged by the laws of God, the laws of nature, and nations, and the laws of this land; if you do otherwiſe, I do here appeal from you to the righteous judge of the world, who one day muſt be your judge and mine, and who always gives righteous judgment."

This he delivered with ſuch gravity, and without paſſion, as was much admired, even by his enemies. After which, the chancellor commanded the ſentence to be read, which he heard with a ſettled and unmoved countenance; and deſiring to be further heard, was preſently ſtopped by the chancellor, who commanded he ſhould immediately be removed back again to priſon: where being no ſooner come, but the miniſters aſſaulted him afreſh, aggravating the terror of the ſentence, thereby to affright him. He acknowledged himſelf much beholding to the parliament for the honour they put upon him, ſaying, He took it for a greater honour to have his head ſtand upon the priſon gate for this quarrel, then to have his picture in the king's bed-chamber; and, leſt his loyalty ſhould be forgotten, they had highly honoured him, in deſigning laſting monuments to four of the chiefeſt cities, to bear up his memorial to all poſterity;

wiſhing he had fleſh enough to have ſent a piece to every city in chriſtendom, to witneſs his loyalty to his king and country.

His friends were not ſuffered to come near him, but a guard was always in the chamber with him, inſomuch as he had neither time nor place for his private devotions, but in their hearing.

The next day, being the twenty-firſt, cloathed in a ſcarlet cloak, richly laced with gold lace, he was brought to the ſcaffold. He came along the ſtreets with ſo great ſtate, and there appeared in his countenance ſo much beauty, majeſty and gravity, as amazed the beholders; and many, even of his enemies, did acknowledge him to be the gallanteſt ſubject in the world: but becauſe all his friends and well-wiſhers were debarred from coming near him, there was a boy deſigned for that purpoſe on the ſcaffold, who took his laſt ſpeech, which was to this effect:

"I AM ſorry, if this manner of my end be ſcandalous to any good Chriſtian. Doth it not often happen to the righteous according to the ways of the wicked, and to the wicked according to the ways of the righteous? Doth not ſome time a juſt man periſh in his righteouſneſs, and a wicked man proſper in his malice? They who know me, ſhould not diſeſteem me for this; many greater than I have been dealt with in this kind; yet I muſt not ſay, but that all God's judgments are juſt; for my private ſins, I acknowledge this to be juſt with God; I ſubmit myſelf to him; but in regard of man, I may ſay, they are but inſtruments; God forgive them, I forgive them; they have oppreſſed the poor, and violently perverted judgment and juſtice; but he that is higher than they will reward them.

"What

" What I did in this kingdom, was in obedience to the moſt juſt commands of my ſovereign; for his defence in the day of his diſtreſs, againſt thoſe that roſe up againſt him. I acknowledge nothing, but fear God and honour the king, according to the commandments of God, and the law of nature and nations; and I have not ſinned againſt man, but againſt God; and with him there is mercy, which is the ground of my drawing near unto him.

" It is objected againſt me by many, even good people, That I am under the cenſure of the church. This is not my fault, ſince it is only for doing my duty, by obeying my prince's moſt juſt commands, for religion, his ſacred perſon, and authority. Yet I am ſorry they did excommunicate me, and in that which is according to God's laws, without wronging my conſcience or allegiance. I deſire to be relaxed; if they will not do it, I appeal to God, who is the righteous judge of the world, and who muſt, and will, I hope, be my judge and ſaviour.

" It is ſpoken of me, that I ſhould blame the king:----God forbid!----for the late king, he lived a ſaint and died a martyr. I pray God, I may ſo end my life as he did: if ever I ſhould wiſh my ſoul in another man's ſtead, it would be his. For his majeſty now living, never people, I believe, might be more happy in a king: his commands to me were moſt juſt; in nothing that he promiſeth will he fail. He deals juſtly with all men, I pray God he be ſo dealt withal, that he be not betrayed under truſt, as his father was.

" I deſire not to be miſtaken, as if my carriage at this time in relation to your ways were ſtubborn; I do not follow the light of my own conſcience, which is ſeconded by the working of the good

ſpirit of God that is within me; I thank him, I go to heaven's throne with joy. If he enable me againſt the fear of death, and furniſh me with courage and confidence to embrace it, even in its moſt ugly ſhape. Let god be glorified in my end, tho' it were in my damnation. Yet I ſay not this out of any fear or diſtruſt, but out of my duty to God and love to his people.

"I have no more to ſay, but that I deſire your charity and prayers. I ſhall pray for you all. I leave my ſoul to God, my ſervice to my prince, my good will to my friends, and my name and charity to you all. And thus, briefly, I have exonerated my conſcience.

Being deſired to pray apart, he ſaid, "I have already poured out my ſoul before the Lord, who knows my heart, and into whoſe hands I have commended my ſpirit; and he hath been graciouſly pleaſed to return me a full aſſurance of peace in Jeſus Chriſt my redeemer; and therefore, if you will not join with me in prayer, my reiterating again will be both ſcandalous to you and me." So cloſing his eyes, and holding up his hands, he ſtood a ſpace at his inward devotions, being perceived to be inwardly moved all the while. When he had done, he called for the executioner, and gave him money. Then having brought unto him, hanging in a cord, his declaration and hiſtory, he hanged them about his neck, ſaying, "Though it hath pleaſed his ſacred majeſty, that now is, to make me one of the knights of the moſt honourable order of the garter, yet I did not think myſelf more honoured by the garter, than by that chord with the book, which I would embrace about my neck with as much joy and content, as ever I did the garter, or a chain of gold:" and therefore deſired

fired them to be tied unto him in what manner they pleased.

When this was done, and his arms tyed, he asked the officers, If they had any more dishonour, as they conceived it, to put upon him, he was ready to accept it: and so, with an undaunted courage and gravity, suffered, according to the sentence passed upon him.

The Behaviour and Speech of the Honourable Colonel Penruddock, which he delivered upon the Scaffold in Exeter Caſtle, on the Sixteenth Day of May, 1655.

AS he was aſcending the ſcaffold, baring his knees, and humbly bowing himſelf, he uſed theſe words: "This I hope will prove to be like Jacob's ladder; though the feet of it reſt on earth, yet I doubt not but the top of it reacheth to heaven."

When he came upon the ſcaffold, he ſaid,

"Oh! wretched man that I am, who ſhall deliver me from this body of death? I thank God, who hath given me victor through our Lord Jeſus Chriſt."

Then, with abundance of Chriſtian cheerfulneſs he ſpake to the people as followeth:

"GENTLEMEN,

"IT hath ever been the cuſtom of all perſons whatſoever when they come to die, to give ſome ſatisfaction to the world, whether they be guilty of the fact of which they ſtand charged. The crime for which I am now to die, is loyalty; but, in this age, called high-treaſon. I cannot deny but that I was at South-Moulton, in this county; but whether my being there, or my action there, amount to ſo high a crime as high-treaſon, I leave to the world and the law to judge. Truly, if I were conſcious to myſelf of any baſe ends that I had

had in this undertaking, I would not be ſo injurious to my own ſoul, or ſo diſingenuous to you, as not to make a public acknowledgment thereof. I ſuppoſe that divers perſons, according as they are by their ſeveral intereſts and relation biaſſed, give their opinions to the world concerning us. I conceive it impoſſible therefore ſo to expreſs myſelf in this particular, as not to expoſe both my judgment and reputation to the cenſure of many which I ſhall leave behind me. Becauſe I will not put others therefore upon a breach of charity concerning me or my actions, I have thought fit to decline all diſcourſes which may give them a capacity either to injure themſelves or me.

" My trial was public, and my ſeveral examinations, I believe, will be produced when I am in my grave. I will refer you therefore to the firſt, which I am ſure ſome of you heard; and to the latter, which many of you, in good time, may ſee. Had captain Crook done himſelf and us that right which a gentleman and a ſoldier ought to have done, I had not now been here. The man I forgive with all my heart, but truly, gentlemen, his proteſting againſt thoſe articles he himſelf, with ſo many proteſtations and importunities put upon us, hath drawn ſo much diſhonour and blood upon his own head, that I fear ſome heavy judgment will purſue him. Though he hath been falſe to us, I pray to God that I do not prove a true prophet to him.

" Nay, I muſt ſay more: that coming on the road to Exon, he, the ſaid captain Crook, told me, ſir John Wagſtaffe was a gallant gentleman, and that he was ſorry that he was not taken with us; that then he might have had the benefit of our articles: ' but now' ſaid he, ' I have beſet all the country for him, ſo that he cannot eſcape, but muſt be hanged.'

He

He queſtioned me, as I paſſed through Saliſbury from London, whether he had given me conditions: which I endeavouring to make appear at that time to major Butler, he interrupted me, and unwillingly confeſſed it, ſaying, I proferred him four hundred pounds to perform his articles: which had been a ſtrange proffer of mine, had I not really conditioned with him: and I told him then, having found him unworthy, I would have given him five hundred pounds, believing him to be mercenary.

" To make it further appear I injure him not by ſtiling him unworthy, after theſe articles were given he threatened to piſtol me, if I did not perſuade another houſe to yield which were then boldly reſiſting. To which my ſervant, John Bilby, now a priſoner, replied, ' I hope you will not be ſo unworthy as to break the law of arms.'

" Thus much I am obliged to ſay, to the honour of the ſoldiery, that they have ever been ſo far from breaking any articles given to others, that they have rather bettered them than otherwiſe.

" It is now our misfortunes to be made preſidents and examples together, but I will not do the protector ſo much injury as to load him with this diſhonour, ſince I have been informed, that he would have made our conditions good, if Crook, that gave them had not abjured them.

" This is not a time for me to enlarge upon any ſubject, ſince I am now become the ſubject of death; but ſince the articles were drawn by my hand, I thought myſelf obliged to a particular juſtification of them.

" I could tell you of ſome ſoldiers which are turned out of his troop for defending thoſe conditions of ours: but let that paſs; and henceforward, inſtead of life, liberty and eſtate, which were

were the articles agreed upon, let drawing, hanging and quartering bear the denomination of captain Crook's articles.

" However, I thank the protector for granting me this honourable death.

" I ſhould now give you an account of my faith: but truly, gentlemen, this poor nation is rent into ſo many ſeveral opinions, that it is impoſſible for me to give you mine without diſpleaſing ſome of you. However, if any be ſo critical as to enquire of what faith I die, I ſhall refer him to the Apoſtles, Athanaſius, and the Nicene Creed; and to the teſtimony of this reverend gentleman, Dr. Short, to whom I have unboſomed myſelf: and if this do not ſatisfy, look into the Thirty-nine Articles of the Catholic Church of England. To them I have ſubſcribed, and do own them as authentic.

" Having now given you an account concerning myſelf, I am obliged, in duty to ſome of my my friends, to take off a ſuſpicion which lies upon them: I mean to ſome perſons of honour, which upon my examination, I was charged to have held correſpondency with. The marquis of Hartford, the marquis of Wincheſter, and my lord of Pembrook were the perſons nominated to me. I did then acquit them, and do now ſecond it with this proteſtation, That I never held any correſpondence with either or any of them, in relation to this particular buſineſs, or indeed to any thing which concerned the protector or government. As for the marquis of Wincheſter, I ſaw him ſome twelve years ſince, and not later; and if I ſhould ſee him here preſent, I believe I ſhould not know him. And for the earl of Pembrook, he was not a man likely to whom I ſhould diſcover my thoughts

thoughts, becauſe he is a man of contrary judgment.

" I was examined likewiſe concerning my brother Freke, my couſin Haſtings, Mr. Dorington, and others. It is probable their eſtates may make them liable to this my condition; but I do here ſo far acquit them, as to give the world this farther proteſtation; That I am confident they are as innocent in this buſineſs as the youngeſt child here.

" I have no more to ſay to you now, but to let you know, that I am in charity with all men, I thank God. I both can, and do, forgive my greateſt perſecutors, and all that ever had any hand in my death.

" I have offered the protector as good ſecurity for my future demeanour as I ſuppoſe he could have expected. If he had thought fit to have given me my life, certainly I ſhould not have been ſo ungrateful as to have employed it againſt him. I do humbly ſubmit to God's pleaſure, knowing that the iſſues of life and death are in his hand. My blood is but a ſmall ſacrifice; if it had been ſaved, I am ſo much a gentleman as to have given thanks to him that had preſerved it: and ſo much Chriſtian, as to forgive them which take it. But ſeeing God by his providence hath called me to lay it down, I will willingly ſubmit to it, though terrible to nature; but bleſſed be my Saviour, who hath taken out the ſting; ſo that I look upon it without terror. Death is a debt, and a due debt; and it hath pleaſed God to make me ſo good a huſband, that I am come to pay it before it is due. I am not aſhamed of that cauſe for which I die, but rather rejoyce that I am thought worthy to ſuffer in the defence and cauſe of God's true church, my lawful king, the liberty of the ſubject, and priviledge

ledge of parliaments. Therefore I hope none of mine alliance and friends will be aſhamed of it. It is ſo far from pulling down my family, that I look upon it as the raiſing it one ſtory higher. Neither was I ſo prodigal of nature as to throw away my life, but have uſed, though none but honourable and honeſt, means to preſerve it.

" Theſe unhappy times, indeed, have been very fatal to my family: two of my brothers already ſlain, and myſelf going to the ſlaughter. It is God's will, and I humbly ſubmit to that providence.

" I muſt render an acknowledgment of the great civilities that I have received from this city of Exon, and ſome perſons of quality, and for their plentiful proviſion made for the priſoners. I thank Mr. Sheriff for his favour towards us, in particular to myſelf; and I deſire him to preſent my due reſpects to the protector, and though he had no mercy for myſelf, yet that he would have reſpect to my family.

" I am now ſtripping off my cloaths to fight a duel with death, I conceive no other duel lawful, but my Saviour hath pulled out the ſting of this mine enemy, by making himſelf a ſacrifice for me: and truly I do not think that man deſerving one drop of his blood, that will not ſpill all for him in ſo good a cauſe.

" The truth is, gentlemen, in this age, treaſon is an inviduum vacum; like the wind in the goſpel, it bloweth where it liſteth; ſo now treaſon is what they pleaſe, and lighteth upon whom they will. Indeed no man, except he will be a traitor, can avoid this cenſure of treaſon. I know not to what end it may come, but I pray God my own, and my brother's blood, that is now to die with me, may be the laſt upon this ſcore.

" Now

"Now, gentlemen, you may ſee what a condition you are in without a king; you have no law to protect you; no rule to walk by; when you perform your duty to God, your king, and your country, you diſpleaſe the arbitrary power now ſet up: I cannot call it government. I ſhall leave you to peruſe my trial, and there you ſhall ſee, what a condition this poor nation is brought into; and, no queſtion, will be utterly deſtroyed, if not reſtored by loyal ſubjects to its old and glorious government. I pray God he lay not this judgment upon England, for their ſluggiſhneſs in doing their duty, and readineſs to put their hands in their boſoms, or rather taking part with the enemy of truth. The Lord open their eyes, that they may be no longer led, or drawn into ſuch ſnares: elſe the child unborn will curſe the day of their parents birth.

"God Almighty preſerve my lawful king Charles the ſecond, from the hands of his enemies, and break down the wall of pride and rebellion which ſo long hath kept him from his juſt rights. God preſerve his royal mother, and all his majeſty's royal brethren, and incline their hearts to ſeek after him. God incline the hearts of all true Engliſhmen, to ſtand up, as one man, to bring in the king; and redeem themſelves, and this poor kingdom, out of its more than Egyptian ſlavery.

"As I have now put off theſe garments of cloth, ſo I hope I have put off my garments of ſin, and have put on the robes of Chriſt's righteouſneſs here, which will bring me to the enjoyment of his glorious robes anon."

Then he kneeled down and kiſſed the block, and ſaid thus: "I commit my ſoul to God, my creator and redeemer. Look on me, O Lord, at my

my laſt gaſping: hear my prayer, and the prayers of all good people. I thank thee, O God, for all thy diſpenſations towards me."

Then, after kneeling devoutly to prayer for a few minutes, he deſired to ſee the axe, and kiſſed it ſaying, "I am like to have a ſharp paſſage of it, but my Saviour hath ſweetened it unto me."

He afterward added, "If I would have been ſo unworthy as others have been, I ſuppoſe, I might by a lie have ſaved my life, which I ſcorn to purchaſe at ſuch a rate. I defy ſuch temptations, and them that gave them.

"Glory be to God on high: on earth, peace: Good will towards men. And the Lord have mercy upon my poor ſoul. Amen."

So laying his neck upon the block, after ſome private ejaculations, he gave the headſman a ſign with his hand, who, at one blow, ſevered his head from his body.

The

The Behaviour and Speech of that piouſly reſolved Hugh Grove, of Chiſenbury, in the Pariſh of Enford and County of Wilts, Eſq. beheaded on the ſixteenth Day of May, 1655, in the Caſtle at Exon.

" Good People,

I NEVER was guilty of much rhetoric, nor ever loved long ſpeeches in all my life; and therefore you cannot expect either of them from me now at my death. All that I ſhall deſire of you, beſides your hearty prayers for my ſoul, is, That you will bear me witneſs, I die a true ſon of the church of England, as it was eſtabliſhed by king Edward VI. queen Elizabeth, king James, and king Charles I. of ever bleſſed memory; that I die a loyal ſubject to king Charles II. my undoubted ſovereign, and a lover of the good old laws of the land, the juſt priviledges of parliaments, and rights of the people; for the re-eſtabliſhing of all which, I do undertake this engagement: and for which I am ready to lay down my life. God forgive the bloody-minded jury, and thoſe that procured them: God forgive captain Crook for denying his articles ſo unworthily: God forgive Mr. Dove; and all other perſons ſwearing ſo maliciouſly and falſely againſt me: God forgive all my enemies; I heartily forgive them. God bleſs the king, and all that love him; turn the hearts of all that hate him. God bleſs you all, and be merciful to you and to my ſoul. Amen."

And ſo meekly laying his neck on the block, and giving a ſign, his head at one blow and a draw of the axe, was ſevered from his body.


J. Boyne Sculp

The Manner of the Execution of Sir Henry Slingſby, on Tueſday the Eighth of June, 1658, upon Tower-hill; with the Subſtance of his Speech before his Death.

ABOUT eleven of the clock, ſir Henry Slingſby was brought from the Tower to the ſcaffold on Tower-hill; whither being come, he fell upon his knees, and for a ſhort time prayed privately.

Then ſtanding up, he did, in a ſhort ſpeech, and with a very low voice, addreſs himſelf to that noble gentleman Mr. Sheriff Robinſon, telling him that what he had to ſay he would ſpeak to him; which was to this purpoſe:

That he had received a ſentence to die, upon account of his endeavouring to betray the garriſon of Hull: but ſaid, All that he did in that buſineſs he was drawn into by others.

That the officers of that garriſon did believe he had ſome greater deſign in hand, and therefore they would needs pump him to the bottom: but what he ſpoke to them in private was brought into evidence againſt him. He likewiſe ſaid, That he did no more than any perſon would have done that was ſo brought on.

That he had made many applications, by his friends, for a reprieve, but found his highneſs was inexorable,

He did confeſs, that he did deliver a commiſſion, as it was charged againſt him; but ſaid, that it was an old commiſſion, and what was meant was well

well known to himſelf; but what conſtruction others had made of it, might appear by his preſent condition.

He diſcovered little ſenſe of ſorrow, or fear of death; but ſaid, He was ready to ſubmit; or words to the like purpoſe.

Then he addreſſed himſelf to private prayer again; and kneeling down at the block he prayed privately for a ſhort ſpace; then laid his neck upon the block, and, at the ſign given, the executioner ſevered his head from his body at one blow; and his friends put his body into a coffin, and removed it into a cloſe coach prepared near the place.

THE

THE LIFE AND DEATH OF SIR CHARLES LUCAS.

SIR CHARLES LUCAS, whoſe tragic end makes the ſubject of the preſent article, ſignalized himſelf in the party of the royaliſts. At the battle of Marſton-Moor, which was fought on the ſecond of July, 1644, he commanded the right wing of the king's army, in conjunction with colonel Hurry. It muſt reflect great honour on ſir Charles Lucas, and highly illuſtrate his abilities as a general, that he was ſucceſsful when prince Rupert failed, and entirely routed the left wing of the parliament's army. The two victorious wings, after chaſing their enemies, returned to the field of battle, and met one another face to face, by ſome accident or other; ſo that each ſtood on the ſame ground that the enemy poſſeſſed at the beginning of the battle. Here the fight was renewed and maintained on both ſides with great warmth and vigor, till, at laſt, night approaching, the king's horſe were put to flight, and purſued as long as day would permit. Much about the ſame time the king's foot were put to flight.

Sir Charles Lucas, major-general Porter, major-general Tillyard, and the lord Goring's ſon, were among the priſoners. Among the colours were the prince Rupert's ſtandard, with the arms of the palatine and a red croſs in the middle; a yellow

coronet, in the middle a lion couchant, and behind him a maſtiff ſeeming to ſnatch at him, and in a label from his mouth written Kimbolton; at his feet little beagles, and before their mouths written Pym, Pym, Pym; and out of the Lion's mouth theſe words proceeding, Quoſque tandem abutere patientiâ noſtrâ.

After Fairfax had, in 1648, defeated the Kentiſh men, who had made an inſurrection in favout of the king, the Eſſex royaliſts, not in the leaſt diſcouraged with this ill ſucceſs, immediately followed their example. They ſtill hoped either that London would declare for the king, or that the Scotch army would make ſo great a progreſs, that the army of England would not be able to withſtand ſo many attacks from all quarters; for there was ſcarce a county but what was to make ſome inſurrection, thoſe eſpecially where the king's party prevailed during the war. Therefore the parliament, having ſent a general pardon into Eſſex for ſuch as ſhould lay down their arms, moſt of them refuſed it at the inſtigation of ſir Charles Lucas, who was the moſt active royaliſt in thoſe parts.

General Fairfax having marched into Eſſex againſt theſe revolters, they retired to Colcheſter, before the avenues of which they immediately threw up ſuch works, that they did not fear being ſtormed.

The leading men who were in Colcheſter, were the earl of Norwich, the lord Capel, ſir George Liſle, ſir William Compton, ſir Charles Lucas, ſir Bernard Gaſcoign, lieutenant-colonel Farr, and ſeveral other good officers, with a garriſon of three thouſand men, all determined to ſell their lives as dear as poſſible.

This induced the general to block up the place, in order to take it by famine. The Scots, who had taken

taken up arms in the king's favour, having been defeated in 1648, Colcheſter ſurrended at diſcretion, after a blockade of two months.

Hereupon the general called a council of war, where it was determined, that the lord George Liſle, ſir Charles Lucas, and ſir Bernard Gaſcoigne, ſhould be ſhot to death. The two firſt were executed purſuant to their ſentence, but the general hearing that ſir Bernard was a Florentine, ſaved his life for fear the grand-duke ſhould make reprizals upon the Engliſh gentlemen who travelled into his dominions.

Sir Charles Lucas died like a ſoldier, as he had lived without, betraying the leaſt ſymptom of fear, or the leaſt regret at leaving life. He maintained his principles to the laſt, and even diſcovered ſatisfaction that he died for the cauſe of his royal maſter.

The

THE LIFE AND DEATH OF SIR GEORGE LISLE.

SIR GEORGE LISLE is ſcarce mentioned in hiſtory, except at his death, the circumſtances of which being very remarkable, we ſhall here lay them before our readers, having firſt given them a brief account of the events which immediately preceded it.

Upon the total defeat of the Scotiſh army, thoſe noble perſons who had taken refuge in Colcheſter, were ſenſible that there was no poſſibility of relief, nor could they ſubſiſt longer to expect it, being preſſed with want of all kind of victuals, and having eaten almoſt all their horſes. They ſent therefore to Fairfax, to treat about ſurrendering the town upon reaſonable conditions; but he refuſed to treat if they would not give up all the officers and gentlemen to his mercy. The common ſoldiers he was contented to diſmiſs. A day or two was ſpent in deliberation. They within propoſed to make a briſk ſally, and thereby to ſhift for themſelves as many as could. But they had too few horſe, and the few that were left uneaten, were too weak for that enterprize. Then that they ſhould open a port, and every man die with his arms in his hands; but that way they could only be ſure of being killed, without much hurting their adverſaries, who had ways enough ſecurely

to

to aſſault them. Hereupon they were at laſt obliged to deliver themſelves up priſoners at mercy; all the officers and gentlemen were led into the public hall of the town, where they were locked up, and a ſtrong guard ſet upon them. They were required preſently to ſend a liſt of their names to the general; which they did; and within a ſhort time after, a guard was ſent to bring ſir Charles Lucas, ſir George Liſle, and ſir Bernard Gaſcoigne, to the general, who was then holding a council of war. They were carried in, and in a very ſhort diſcourſe told, that after ſo long and ſo obſtinate a defence, until they found it neceſſary to deliver themſelves up to mercy, it was neceſſary, for the example of others, and that the peace of the kingdom might no more be diſturbed in that manner, that ſome military juſtice ſhould be executed; and therefore that council had determined they three ſhould be preſently ſhot to death; for which they were adviſed to prepare themſelves; and, without conſidering or hearing what they had a mind to ſay for themſelves, they were led into a yard thereby, where they found three files of muſqueteers ready for their diſpatch.

The execution being delayed till ſir Bernard Gaſcoigne could write over to the duke of Florence, whoſe ſubject he was, the news of this bloody reſolution was brought to the priſoners in the town, who were infinitely afflicted with it, and the lord Capel prevailed with an officer of their guard to carry a letter, ſigned by the chief perſons and the officers, and in the name of the reſt, to the general; in which they took notice of that judgment, and deſired him either to forbear the execution of it, or that they might all, who were equally guilty with theſe three, undergo the ſame ſentence with them. The letter was delivered,

but had no other effect than ſending to the officer to diſpatch his order, reſerving the Italian to the laſt.

Sir Charles Lucas was their firſt work, who being dead, ſir George Liſle ran to him, embraced and kiſſed him, and then ſtood up and looked thoſe who were to execute him in the face; and thinking they ſtood at too great a diſtance, ſpoke to them to come nearer: to which one of them ſaid, "I'll "warrant you, ſir, we'll hit you." He anſwered, ſmiling, "Friends, I've been nearer you, when "you have miſſed me." Thereupon they all fired upon him, and did their work home, ſo that he fell down dead of many wounds without ſpeaking a word.

The character of ſir George Liſle was almoſt the reverſe of that of ſir Charles Lucas, tho' his education had been the ſame, and at the ſame an officer of foot. The other, who had been bred in the Low-Countries, under the prince of Orange, had always ſerved in the horſe. He had all the courage of the other, and led his men to battle with ſuch an alacrity, that no man was ever better followed; his ſoldiers never forſaking him; and the party which he commanded never left any thing undone which he led them upon. But, notwithſtanding the ardor of his courage, he had the ſofteſt and moſt gentle diſpoſition imaginable; was kind to all, and beloved of all, and incapable of making any man his enemy.

THE

LIFE AND DEATH

OF

William, Lord Ruſſel.

WILLIAM, lord Ruſſel, was ſecond ſon of William, earl, and afterwards duke of Bedford, by Anne, daughter and heir of Robert Car, earl of Somerſet. In April, 1679, he was received into his majeſty's new council; and the year following, was elected member of parliament for the county of Bedford in which ſeſſions he induſtriouſly did all in his power to promote the bill for the excluſion of the duke of York from the ſucceſſion; the debate concerning which was opened by him on the twenty-ſixth of October, with a declaration of his opinion, that the life of his majeſty, the ſafety of the nation and the proteſtant religion, were greatly in danger from popery; and that either that parliament muſt check its growth and power, or elſe it would ſoon deſtroy, not only parliaments, but all that was dear and valuable to them. For which reaſon he moved, that they would take it into immediate conſideration, how to ſuppreſs popery and prevent a popiſh ſucceſſor.

The bill being accordingly paſſed in the houſe of commons, his lordſhip, on the fifteenth of November, carried it up to the peers, who rejecting it, the commons were highly incenſed, and lord Ruſſel in particular ſaid, that if ever there ſhould happen

happen in this nation, any ſuch revolution as ſhould deprive him of the liberty of living a proteſtant, he was reſolved to die one; and therefore would not willingly ſuffer the ſtrength of their enemies to be encreaſed. But theſe, and ſpeeches of the like tendency having diſguſted the court, the parliament was prorogued on the tenth of January, 1680-1. However, as the king's affairs required the meeting of another parliament, his majeſty called one, which aſſembled at Oxford on the twenty-firſt of March following; in which lord Ruſſel ſerved again as knight of the ſhire for the county of Bedford. But on the ſecond bill of excluſion being moved for by ſir Robert Clayton and his lordſhip joining in the propoſal, that parliament was ſoon after diſſolved, and no other called during the reign of Charles II.

In June, 1633, lord Ruſſel was accuſed of being concerned in the Rye-houſe plot; and though he knew of a meſſenger's being ſent for him, before he was apprehended, and had it in his power to make his eſcape, he reſolved to wait the event, from a firm perſuaſion, that his retirement would give the court too great an advantage againſt him, and would look like a confeſſion of guilt whilſt he was conſcious of his innocence, never once thinking of the diſcourſe that had paſſed at Mr. Shepherd's while he was taſting of wines.

He was brought to his trial at the Old Bailey on the thirteenth of July following. The moſt that was proved againſt him, was, that he was in company where treaſon was talked, without joining in that diſcourſe, or giving any ſort of aſſent to it; and this amounted to no more than miſpriſion, or concealment of treaſon. Such was his candor that he ſpoke but little as to the fact; for being adviſed not to relate the whole truth, he ſaid he could not

ſpeak

ſpeak againſt what he knew to be true, though the truth had in ſome particulars been exaggerated; and as he was not allowed to make the difference, ſo he left it wholly to the jury, who brought in their verdict againſt him for high-treaſon; whereupon ſentence of death was pronounced againſt him.

While he lay under condemnation, he wrote a letter to the duke of York, dated July the ſixteenth, and delivered it to the ducheſs of York by the lady Ruſſel: in which he declared, that the oppoſition he had made to his royal highneſs was not occaſioned by any perſonal ill-will, but meerly by an opinion that it was the beſt method to preſerve the eſtabliſhed religion; and if he was miſtaken, he had acted ſincerely, without having any ill end: and, as for any baſe deſign againſt the duke's perſon, he hoped he would do him the juſtice not to think him capable of ſo vile a thought. But that he was now reſolved, and did faithfully promiſe that if the king would pardon him, and if his royal highneſs would promote it with his intereſt, he would entirely deſiſt from his oppoſition, and would gladly conſent to live in any part of the world appointed by the king.

On the nineteenth of the ſame month, he wrote likewiſe a letter to the king, to be delivered after his death, as was done accordingly by his uncle colonel Ruſſel; in which he obſerved that his chief buſineſs was humbly to aſk his majeſty's pardon for any thing he had either ſaid or done, which might look like want of reſpect to him, or of duty to his government; in which, though he did to the laſt acquit himſelf of all deſigns againſt his perſon or government, and proteſted that he knew of no deſign then on foot againſt either, yet he did not deny but he had heard many things, and ſaid ſome things inconſiſtent

inconſiſtent with his duty; for which, as he had aſked God's pardon, ſo he humbly begged his majeſty's. And he took the liberty to add, that tho' he had met with hard meaſure, yet he forgave all concerned in it, from the higheſt to the loweſt; and prayed God to bleſs both his majeſty's perſon and government, and that the public peace and true proteſtant religion might be preſerved under him. He craved leave to end his days with this ſincere proteſtation, that his heart had been ever devoted to that, which he thought was his majeſty's true intereſt; in which if he was miſtaken, he hoped his majeſty's diſpleaſure againſt him would end with his life, and that no part of it would fall upon his wife and children.

He was beheaded in Lincoln's-inn-fields, on the twenty-firſt of July, 1683, and died with great piety and reſignation. The paper which he left in the ſheriff's hands, and in which he declared that he had never had any deſign againſt the king's life, or that of any man whatever, gave great offence to the court, and Dr. Burnet was particularly charged as the author of it. However, lady Ruſſel vindicated him in a letter to the king.

Lord Ruſſel was a man of great candour, and of a generous temper, and had given ſuch proofs of undaunted courage and unſhaken firmneſs, that no man of his age had ſo general a credit in the nation as he had,

An Account of the Proceedings againſt the Lords who were concerned in the Rebellion in 1715.

ON the firſt of Auguſt, the earl of Marr, ſecretary of ſtate, in the reign of queen Anne, retired from court; and about the middle of the ſame month, aſſembled the friends of the pretender in Scotland, and formed an army. Among theſe were the earl of Nithiſdale, the lord Kenmure, and ſome few others. The earl of Marr, on the third of September, proclaimed the pretender at Aboyn, in Aberdeenſhire, by the name of James VIII. Mr. Forſter, who had accepted the poſt of the pretender's general in England, aſſembled a body of malcontents in Northumberland on the ſixth of September. About the nineteenth of October, the lord viſcount Kenmure, the earls of Nithiſdale, Carnwath, and Wintown, joined Mr. Forſter with about two hundred horſe from Scotland; and, on the twenty-fourth of the ſame month, brigadier Mackintoſh joined Mr. Forſter with a body of Scotiſh foot about ten miles from Berwick. Their whole number was computed to be two thouſand five hundred when they marched into Lancaſhire; but it does not appear that they were more than one thouſand five hundred after the engagement with the king's forces.

On the fourteenth of November, they ſurrendered to the king's army at Preſton; and on the nineteenth of January following, James, earl of Derwentwater; Wiliam, lord Widdrington; William, earl of Nithiſdale; Robert, earl of Carnwath

wath; William, viſcount Kenmure; and William, lord Nairn, were impeached in parliament; and on the tenth theſe lords were brought from the Tower to the houſe of peers; and the articles of impeachment being read to them, they were allowed to the Monday following to put in their ſeveral anſwers. Afterwards the time was prolonged to the nineteenth, when they were all brought to the lords bar, and pleaded guilty, except the earl of Winton, who obtained further time to put in his anſwer.

On Thurſday, the ninth of February, the lords being come down from their houſe to a court erected in Weſtminſter-hall, a proclamation for ſilence was made: after which, his majeſty's commiſſion was read, all the peers ſtanding uncovered. Then a proclamation was made for the lieutenant of the Tower to bring his priſoners to the bar; whereupon James, earl of Derwentwater, and the reſt of the lords above-named, were brought to the bar, the axe being carried before them, with the edge from them, by the gentleman goaler. Immediately after the articles of impeachment againſt them were read, to which they returned their ſeveral anſwers.

The earl of Derwentwater, who was the firſt, in his anſwer pleaded guilty, and threw himſelf upon his majeſty's mercy, alledging that his taking arms was owing to youthful raſhneſs, which made him, without deliberation, engage to meet at Plainfield in Northumberland, on aſſurance that many of his relations and acquaintance would appear there. He added, that the ſuddenneſs of his undertaking, appeared from his having engaged in it without any previous preparation of men, horſes, arms, or other warlike accoutrements; and alſo, that he had perſuaded his friends at Preſton

Breſton to a ſpeedy ſurrender, in order to prevent the effuſion of blood.

The earl of Nithiſdale then put in his anſwer, in which he alledged, that, having been obliged to abſcond, to avoid being confined in Edinburgh caſtle, ſeveral of the perſons mentioned in the impeachment, with many other of his neighbours, appeared in arms very near the place where he lay concealed; whereupon he inconſiderately joined them, and proceeded in their company to the places in the ſaid articles of impeachment mentioned; but he knew nothing of the intended inſurrection till they were actually in arms.

The earl of Carnwath gave in no anſwer in writing, but deſired to throw himſelf upon the king's mercy, and implored their interceſſion.

The viſcount Kenmure gave in no written anſwer, but in like manner implored the interceſſion of the lords.

The lord Nairn alſo threw himſelf upon the king's mercy, but at the ſame time preſented a petition to the lords ſpiritual and temporal; in which he declared that he knew nothing of any previous conſultations or conſpiracies in favour of the pretender, before he actually appeared in arms.

The houſe of commons having demanded judgment againſt the impeached lords, who had pleaded guilty, and the ninth of February being appointed for that ſolemnity, the lords came from their houſe to their court erected in Weſtminſter-hall, where having taken their reſpective places, the lord William Cooper, lord-chancellor of England, ſitting as lord-high-ſteward; James, earl of Derwentwater; William, lord Widdrington; William, earl of Nithiſdale; Robert, earl of Carnwath; William, viſcount Kenmure; and William, lord Nairn; were all brought to the bar by the deputy-

governor

governor of the Tower, having the axe carried before them by the gentleman goaler, who ſtood with it on the left hand of the priſoners, with the edge turned from him.

The lord-high-ſteward having made a ſpeech in anſwer to what was again alledged by the impeached lords in arreſt of judgment, pronounced ſentence againſt them to ſuffer as guilty of high-treaſon.

The writs for executing the ſaid ſix lords being, on the eighteenth of February, delivered to the lieutenant of the Tower and the ſheriffs of London and Middleſex, they petitioned both houſes of parliament, on the twenty ſecond of the ſame month, to intercede with his majeſty in their behalf: and the lords preſented an addreſs accordingly. To which the king only anſwered, that on this, and all other occaſions, he ſhould do what he thought moſt conſiſtent with the dignity of his crown and the ſafety of his people.

On the twenty-fourth of February, James, earl of Derwentwater, and William, viſcount Kenmure, were brought to the ſcaffold on Tower-hill. The earl had ſuch aſſurance given him of his life, that he was under ſome ſurprize: but the lord Kenmure ſeemed well prepared for the fatal ſtroke. The compoſure and ſerenity of his mind was admired by all that ſaw him.

The earl of Derwentwater having read a paper juſt before his execution, delivered it to the ſheriff. Then running to the block, and finding a rough place, he bid the executioner chip it off. Then pulling off his coat and waiſtcoat, he lay down to fit his neck to the block, telling the executioner that the ſign he ſhould give him was, "Lord Jeſus "receive my ſoul;" and at the third time of repeating it he was to do his office: which he accordingly did at one blow.

The

The lord Kenmure was then brought to the ſcaffold. He made no other ſpeech than that he was concerned that he had pleaded guilty. After which laying down his head upon the block, he raiſed it up again; and ſtill continuing on his knees he gave the executioner ſome money, and told him he would give no ſign, but when he laid down his head again, he might perform his office, as he ſaw good. Then having lifted up his hands a ſhort time in prayer, he reſolutely laid down his head, which at two blows was ſevered from his body.

The other lords, viz. Widdrington, the earl of Carnwath, and lord Nairn, were afterwards pardoned: but the earl of Nithiſdale, the day before the execution of the lord Derwentwater, found means to make his eſcape out of the Tower, diſguiſed in womens apparel, and was never heard of ſince.

THE

LIFE AND DEATH

OF

Arthur, Lord Balmerino.

JOHN ELPHINGSTON, fourth lord Balmerino, in the reign of queen Anne, was made general of her mint, and ſheriff of the county of Edinburgh; and in the year 1713, was elected one of the ſixteen peers to repreſent the peerage of Scotland in the parliament of Great-Britain. His ſecond wife was daughter of Arthur Roſs, archbiſhop of St. Andrew's, by whom he had two ſons and one daughter. James, the eldeſt, ſucceeded him, and

Arthur, the melancholy ſubject of this relation. He was born at Leith, in Auguſt, 1688, and trained up, when young, at the high ſchool in the ſame town. He made no great proficiency in other parts of learning, but wrote ſo excellent a hand, that he once, if not twice, won the gold pen, that was the prize of that ſcholar who wrote the faireſt and beſt. While a boy he was remarkable and beloved for his affability and good nature, for he would converſe with the ſame freedom with any poor man in the place, as with a gentleman of the higheſt rank; and would oftentimes pinch his own pocket, in its ſlender allowance, to do acts of charity to others. This benevolence of temper alſo ſhewed itſelf in that perſons oftentimes who had any demands upon his father, would apply to Mr. Arthur,

Mr. Arthur, and he ſeldom failed of bringing them their money.

He was of a robuſt conſtitution, active, and particularly dextrous in ſwimming. He uſed to go almoſt every day at high water to the great river, or rather a branch of the ſea, that runs by the gardens of Sheriff Crane, off Leith, a mile from Edinburgh, and would frequently ſwim from thence through the harbour quite into the ſea, as far as the land-mark, which is above a mile from the pier head; and being ſo well beloved, moſt of the people in the town would ſhew a great concern for him leſt he ſhould be drowned.

His brother, the late lord Balmerino, who was a man of ſtedfaſt revolution principles, obtained a commiſſion for him under his late majeſty king George I. and he had the command of a company when the laſt rebellion broke out in the year 1715, and behaved bravely at the battle of Sheriff-Muir: but before the battle, a great field-officer, having ſome ſuſpicion of his loyalty, examined him thereon. He told his grace, he would be true to his truſt, and that he ſhould find himſelf deceived by his future behaviour; which was very true indeed, for no officer behaved more gallantly: but as ſoon as the battle was over, he went to the duke of Argyle, and told him, as he came off alive it ſaved him from perdition; for if he at that time had been killed, he ſhould have died in a bad cauſe; and thereupon immediately delivered up his commiſſion to his grace, begged to be excuſed from any farther ſervice, and took leave in an handſome manner, going over to the ſide of the rebels. But when they were diſperſed, he went into Denmark, where he continued till the general act of indemnity paſſed, from which he was not excepted.

About the year 1722, he went to Leith, when there was a regiment of ſoldiers in that town, and although he was there for above two months, ſo well was he beloved, that no man offered to lay hold on him, or ſo much as inform againſt him. He then returned to Denmark, and went to France; where it is ſuppoſed he laid ſome foundation for his late deſign, by the acquaintance he made there.

The lord Balmerino, his brother, having married a lady by whom he could expect no children on account of her age, that the eſtate might not go into another family, petitioned his preſent majeſty to give leave for this Arthur to come home: and his majeſty was ſo gracious as to pardon all his paſt offences, which is certainly a great aggravation of his late crime.

Upon his return, about nine years before his unhappy end, he married an agreeable young gentlewoman, Mrs. Margaret Chambers, daughter to John Chambers, eſquire, of Clogger, about three miles from Leith, at whoſe houſe he lodged after his return to Scotland; but he afterwards went to the houſe of one Mrs. Camphell. of Montonhall, near Muſſelborough, where he continued till he attended the young pretender in his late expedition. Upon hearing of which, his brother, the lord Balmerino, then yet living, was ſo exaſperated, that he made over all his eſtate, by deed of aſſignment to-------- Elphingſton, eſq- that no part of it might come to this gentleman, by whoſe behaviour it was not likely to continue long in the family.

The late lord Balmerino, who was a gentleman of great worth and honour, died but about a year and a half before his execution, ſo that the title came to the unfortunate and ill-judging gentleman who lately ſuffered for his raſhneſs and folly.

We

We do not find much ſaid of him, during the time of that unnatural rebellion, till he was taken priſoner by his majeſty's troops under the command of his royal highneſs the duke, after the battle of Culloden, fought on the ſixteenth of April, 1746.

He was brought to London, and committed priſoner to the Tower, with the earls of Kilmarnock and Cromertie, condemned with him. The lady Balmerino ſoon followed him, and taking lodgings in Eaſt-Smithfield to be near him, attended him conſtantly in his confinement.

On Monday, the twenty-third of July, 1746, the right honourable the lord chief juſtice Lee, the right honourable the lord chief juſtice Willes, ſir Martin Wright, ſir Thomas Abney, ſir James Reynolds, and Mr. Baron Clive, came to the town-hall on St. Margaret's Hill, in Southwark, and opened their ſpecial commiſſion for the trials of the rebels; when the lord chief juſtice of the king's bench gave a moſt learned and excellent charge to the grand inqueſt; who thereupon withdrew to the Three Tuns tavern on St. Margaret's Hill, and found bills for high-treaſon againſt William, earl of Kilmarnock, George, earl of Cromertie, and Arthur, lord Balmerino.

The three indictments againſt the lords being drawn up, a certiorari was awarded out of chancery to remove the indictments, in order to their trials by their peers; and before the return of that writ, his majeſty was pleaſed to appoint Philip lord Hardwicke, the lord high chancellor, to be lord high ſteward for the trials of the ſaid peers: and then the lord high Steward directed a precept under his ſeal to the commiſſioners, to certify the indictments were found, and on what day.

The ſame being certified by the commiſſioners in the ſpecial commiſſion named, that the indict-

ment was found in Surry, the lord high ſteward moved the houſe, to know what day thoir lordſhips would try the rebel peers. Thereupon ſome debate aroſe in the houſe, whether theſe three peers could be tried by indictment, it being the firſt precedent; for the earl of Granville ſaid, it was an innovation and infringement upon the privileges of the houſe of commons to impeach. But this debate ſoon ended, becauſe there is an act of parliament, now in force, made in the 7th of William III. that ſays, "Any peer, or peers, may be tried "by indictment, as well as information."

Then the houſe came to a reſolution to proceed to the trials of the rebel peers, on Monday the twenty-eighth of July, 1746. A precept being accordingly directed to the lord Cornwallis, conſtable and lieutenant of the Tower, to bring the bodies of the priſoners that day to Weſtminſter-hall, at eight o'clock in the morning they were carried thither in three coaches.

Upon the ſame day the lord high ſteward went in proceſſion to Weſtminſter-hall to try them.

The lords being ſeated on their benches, and the judges and maſters in chancery below in their ſeats; the lord high ſteward making a reverence to the ſtate, and ſaluting the peers, ſeated himſelf on the wooll-ſack, as ſpeaker of the houſe of lords.

The two clerks of the crown being ready at the clerks table, and the clerk of the crown in chanchery, having the king's commiſſion to his grace in his hand, both made three reverences to him, and at the third, coming before the wooll-ſack, kneeled down, and the clerk of the crown in chancery, on his knee, preſented the commiſſion to his grace, who delivered it to the clerk of the crown in the king's bench, and they making three reverences, returned to the clerks table. The clerk of the

the crown in the king's bench opened the commiſſion and read it, having firſt directed his grace's ſerjeant at arms to make proclamation for ſilence, which he did with his mace upon his ſhoulder.

While the commiſſion was reading, his grace and the lords ſtood up, all uncovered; after which his grace making obeiſance, reſeated himſelf, and then the garter and the black rod, with three reverences, jointly preſented the white ſtaff on their knees to his grace; and being fully inveſted in his office, he, with the white ſtaff in his hand, removed from the wool-ſack to the chair placed for him on an aſcent before the throne, and ſat down.

At Weſtminſter-hall gate the priſoners were received by general Folliott, and the axe was carried before them with the edge from them.

Proclamation being made in the court for the lord-lieutenant of the Tower of London to return the precept to him directed, with the bodies of the priſoners: which done, the gentleman goaler of the Tower brought his priſoners to the bar; and the proclamation was made for the king's evidence to come forth, the king's counſel, Mr. premier ſerjeant Skinner, Mr. attorney, and ſollicitor general, ſir John Strange, and ſir Richard Lloyd, by his grace's direction, opened the indictment.

Then his grace moved the houſe, that he might advance forwards for the better hearing the evidence, and his chair was accordingly moved forwards into the court.

The earls of Kilmarnock and Cromertie both pleaded guilty: after which the lord Balmerino being brought to the bar, he pleaded Not Guilty; alledging, that he was not at Carliſle at the time ſpecified in the indictment, being, when that city was taken, eleven miles from thence; and

then the king's council proceeded to call their witneſſes to ſupport the charge againſt the priſoner, four of whom were examined, and depoſed as follows:

The firſt witneſs ſwore that he ſaw the lord Balmerino, the priſoner at the bar, ride into Carliſle on a bay horſe, the day after it was taken by the rebels: that he ſaw him ride up to the market-place, with his ſword drawn, at the head of his troop of horſe, which was the ſecond troop of the pretender's ſon's body guards, called Elphingſton's horſe.

Another witneſs proved, that he ſaw his lordſhip ride into Mancheſter at the head of his troop, and was there when the pretender's ſon was proclaimed regent; and the ſaid troop was the ſecond troop of the pretender's body guard, and was called Elphingſton's troop of horſe.

Two other witneſſes proved, That his lordſhip was called colonel of his troop; that he acted always in that ſtation, and gave orders on all occaſions to his officers: and they farther depoſed, that his lordſhip was in ſeveral places on the road where the rebels marched, at the head of his troop, and was in great eſteem with the young pretender.

The priſoner aſking neither of the evidences any queſtions, the council for the king here reſted their proof.

Then his grace the lord high ſteward aſked the priſoner, If he could offer any thing in his defence, or would call any witneſſes who could invalidate what had been proved upon him by the witneſſes on his majeſty's behalf.

To which he replied, He was ſorry that he had given their lordſhips ſo much trouble, and had nothing more to ſay, only that, as he was not at Carliſle

liſle at the time the rebels took poſſeſſion of it, and the indictment charging him with being at Carliſle expreſly at that time, he could not be guilty of that indictment.

A motion was then made by a noble peer, that the court might adjourn to the houſe of lords; which they did accordingly: and, after many debates there, they came to a reſolution that the opinion of the learned judges ſhould be taken on the point which the priſoner had objected to in regard to the indictment. Then the lord high ſteward and the lords being returned into the court in Weſtminſter-hall, the point in queſtion was put to the judges, who were all of opinion, that, as an overt-act of high-treaſon, and other acts of treaſon, had been proved beyond contradiction, there was no occaſion to prove explicitly all that was laid in the indictment; ſo that the priſoner's objection was no way material, but that the indictment was a good indictment, and that ſo far of it had been proved as the law requires to convict any perſon of high-treaſon.

Then proclamation for ſilence was made, when the lord high ſteward, calling the peers by their names one by one, and beginning with the youngeſt baron, aſked him,

Whether Arthur, lord Balmerino, was guilty of the high treaſon of which he ſtood indicted, or not guilty?

The baron ſtanding up, uncovered, put his hand on his right breaſt, and ſaid, "Guilty upon my "honour."

All the reſt of the peers declared the priſoner guilty of high-treaſon in the ſame manner.

After the priſoner had been found guilty of the indictment, the other two lords (the earls of Kilmarnock and Cromertie) were brought into court, and

and ſet to the bar with lord Balmerino; when his grace the lord ſteward informed them, That if either of them had any thing to move in arreſt of judgment, their lordſhips muſt come prepared the Wedneſday following, at eleven of the clock in the morning, and lay their objections before the court, or judgment of death would be awarded againſt them.

After which they were carried back to the Tower in coaches, and the axe, which was in the coach with the lord Balmerino, had the edge towards him.

On Wedneſday, the thirtieth of July, the lord Balmerino, with the other two priſoners, were brought again from the Tower into court; and the lord high ſteward came in the uſual manner into Weſtminſter-hall. The lords having taken their places, and the lord high ſteward being in the chair, before the throne, the priſoners were brought to the bar, and proclamation made for ſilence.

After which the lord high ſteward acquainted the earl of Kilmarnock, that, as he had thought proper to plead guilty to the indictment againſt him, he had thereby confeſſed the ſeveral crimes and treaſons in the ſaid indictment mentioned; and therefore he deſired to know, what his lordſhip had to ſay, why judgment of death ſhould not be paſſed on him.

The earl then addreſſing himſelf to the houſe, made a ſpeech, which we ſhall give the reader when we come to the particular account of that lord.

When lord Balmerino was called upon to know what he could ſay, why judgment of death ſhould not be awarded againſt him, according to law, his lordſhip, directing himſelf to the lord high ſteward,

produced

produced a paper and deſired it might be read. The lord high ſteward told his lordſhip, he was at liberty to read it if he pleaſed. But the priſoner replied, his voice was too low, and that he could not read it ſo well to be underſtood as he could wiſh. On which the lord high ſteward gave orders for one of the clerks of the parliament to go near the bar to the priſoner, and read the paper aloud; ſo that their lordſhips and the priſoner might hear the contents: and the clerk having received the paper, he read it ſtanding juſt within the bar by the priſoner; which paper was to the following purport:

That the indictment was founded on an act of parliament made the laſt ſeſſion, by which priſoners tried for high-treaſon, committed in the late rebellion, were to be tried in ſuch county as his majeſty ſhould appoint: but that the treaſon. with which the priſoner is charged, is aſſigned to be committed at Carliſle, where he ought to have been indicted, and not in Surry, becauſe the treaſon was committed before the paſſing of the ſaid act; and therefore that the priſoner could not be affected by it; and conſequently, that the whole ſuperſtructure built thereon muſt neceſſarily fall to the ground. The priſoner therefore prayed their lordſhips to aſſign him council to be heard on that head.

Then the earl Granville moved, that the lords would adjourn to their own houſe in order to conſider of what the priſoner had offered.

The priſoners were then removed from the bar, and the lords went to their own houſe, where they debated the matter for about an hour and an half, and then returned to the court in Weſtminſter-hall in the uſual form; and being ſeated, the priſoners were again called to the bar, when the lord high ſteward aſked the lord Balmerino, If he required

quired to have counſel to ſpeak to the point which his lordſhip had before propoſed, and the lord Balmerino anſwering, Yes, he did require it; then the lord high ſteward told his lordſhip, that he was ordered by the lords to acquaint him, that they agreed to his requeſt, and deſired him to name the council he would have them appoint for him. Upon which he named Mr. Wilbraham and Mr. Forreſter: which the lord high ſteward told him the court agreed to, and appointed the Friday morning following, the firſt of Auguſt, to have the point argued, when the king's council would attend.

Then the priſoners were taken from the bar, and the court adjourned. The priſoners were carried back to the Tower, and the axe in the ſame manner as before.

On the firſt of Auguſt, the lord high ſteward being come down, and the lords being met in their own houſe, they went from thence in the uſual form, to the court in Weſtminſter-hall; where being ſeated, and proclamation made for the conſtable of the Tower to bring his priſoners to the bar, he brought them in accordingly.

Then the lord high ſteward aſked the lord Balmerino, If he was ready by his council to argue the point which he had propoſed to the court the Wedneſday before? To which the lord Balmerino replied, That his council had adviſed him, that there was nothing in his objection ſufficient to found an arreſt of judgment upon; and therefore he withdrew it, and humbly craved their lordſhips pardon for giving them ſo much trouble; alledging, that he thought it was the duty of every Chriſtian to preſerve life as long as he could; and then ſubmitted himſelf to the court.

The

The other two lords doing the ſame; after proclamation was made for ſilence, the lord high ſteward made a moſt eloquent ſpeech, wherein he ſhewed the excellence and happineſs of our preſent conſtitution, and the bleſſings we enjoy under his majeſty's reign, who is a prince celebrated through the world for his mild and gracious government.

His grace then pronounced the judgment, which the law required, and which that high court awarded: viz.

"THAT you, William earl of Kilmarnock, George earl of Cromertie, and Arthur lord Balmerino, and every of you, return to the priſon of the Tower, from whence you came; from thence you muſt be drawn to the place of execution; when you come there, you muſt be hanged by the neck, but not till you are dead; for you muſt be cut down alive; then your bowels muſt be taken out, and burnt before your faces; then your heads muſt be ſevered from your bodies, and your bodies muſt be divided each into four quarters; and theſe muſt be at the king's diſpoſal.

And God Almighty be merciful to your ſouls."

Then the priſoners were taken from the bar, and the lord high ſteward ſtanding up, he informed the lords that all the buſineſs was completed, which by his commiſſion he was to execute; and then his grace took the white rod in both his hands and broke it into two pieces, and declared his commiſſion was at an end. He then aſked the lords, if it was their pleaſure to adjourn to the chamber of parliament; which they agreeing to, they returned in the ſame order of proceſſion in which they came, the ſtate only excepted.

The

The lords priſoners, after taking part of a cold collation prepared for them, were conducted to their coaches, the axe being now carried with the edge towards them, as they proceeded to the Tower. They ſtill preſerved their countenances, not betraying the leaſt ſigns of dejection, and the populace behaved with much decency.

From the time that ſentence paſſed upon him to the time of his execution, lord Balmerino ſhewed no tokens of fear, nor had he any hopes of a pardon, for he ſaid himſelf his caſe was deſperate, being a relapſe, for he had been pardoned once before.

When his lady expreſſed a great concern for his approaching fate, "Grieve not, my dear," ſaid he, "we muſt all die once, and this is but a few "years, very likely, before my death muſt have "happened ſome other way. Therefore wipe "away your tears, you may marry again, and get "a better huſband."

His lady, whom he always called his Peggy, was at dinner with him when the warrant came for his execution; at which ſhe being greatly concerned roſe up from table. "My dear Peggy," ſaid he, "ſit down, for this ſhan't ſpoil my dinner. If the "king had given me mercy, I ſhould have been "glad of it; but ſince it is otherwiſe, I am very "eaſy; for it is what I have expected, and therefore "it does not at all ſurprize me."

Some days before his execution, being aſked in what manner he would go to the ſcaffold? he anſwered, He would go in the regimentals which he wore when he was firſt taken; and that he would have a woollen ſhirt next his ſkin which would ſerve him as a ſhroud to be buried in. Being then aſked, why he would not have a new ſuit of black? he replied, "It would be thought very imprudent

" imprudent in a man to repair an old houſe when " the leaſe of it was near expiring;" for the leaſe of his life would expire next Monday.

On Monday, the eighteenth of Auguſt, about ſix in the morning, a thouſand of the foot guards, a troop of life-guards, and one of horſe grenadiers, marched through the city to Tower-hill to attend the execution; and the ſame morning the two ſheriffs of Middleſex and London, with their officers, and the executioner, went from the Mitre tavern in Fenchurch-ſtreet, to the houſe hired by them on Tower-hill for the ſaid lords.

At ten o'clock the block was fixed on the ſtage; ſoon after their coffins were brought, covered with black cloth, with gilt nails, &c. On that for the earl of Kilmarnock was a plate with this inſcription, " Gulielmus Comes de Kilmarnock, decollatus 18 " Auguſti, 1746, Ætat. ſuæ 42. with an earl's coronet over it, and ſix coronets over the ſix handles: and on that for lord Balmerino was a plate with this inſcription: " Arthurus Dominus de Bal- " merino, decollatus 18 Auguſti, 1746, Ætat. " ſuæ 58." with a baron's coronet over it, and ſix others over the handles.

At half an hour after ten the ſheriffs went to the Tower, and after knocking ſome time at the gate they were admitted, and the priſoners, on their giving a receipt, were delivered to them, the lieutenant of the Tower ſaying, as is uſual, " God " bleſs king George." To which the earl of Kilmarnock aſſented by a bow, and lord Balmerino ſaid, " God bleſs king James:" and ſoon after the proceſſion appeared in the following order: 1. The conſtables of the Tower hamlets. 2. The knight marſhal's men and tipſtaves. 3. The ſheriff's officers. 4. The priſoners attended by their chaplains,

lains, and the two ſheriffs. 5. The warders of the Tower. 6. A guard of muſqueteers. 7. Two hearſes and a mourning coach.

The two lords had met each other at the foot of the ſtairs, and embraced, when lord Balmerino greatly ſaid to the other, "My lord, I am heartily "ſorry to have your company in this expedition."

When the proceſſion had paſſed through the lines into the area of the circle, the paſſage was cloſed, and the horſe that were in the rear of the foot on the lines wheeled off, and drew up five deep behind the foot, on the ſouth ſide of the hill facing the ſcaffold. The lords were conducted to the houſe facing the entrance on the ſcaffold (the late tranſport office) and being put into ſeparate apartments, their friends were admitted to ſee them.

About eleven o'clock, the lord Balmerino ſent a meſſage to the earl of Kilmarnock to deſire an interview with him; which being conſented to, my lord Balmerino, after addreſſing himſelf to the other, and thanking him for the favour of that conference, aſked his lordſhip, If he knew of any order being made before the battle of Culloden for giving no quarter to the duke's army? at the ſame time declaring, That he himſelf knew nothing of any ſuch order. To which the lord Kilmarnock replied, That he knew nothing of any ſuch order, but that ſince the battle of Culloden he had been informed that there was ſome order to that effect, ſigned George Murray, and that it fell into the hands of the duke immediately after the battle.

Theſe lords having ſaluted each other, lord Balmerino bade the lord Kilmarnock an eternal happy adieu; and with a cheerful countenance added; "My dear Lord, I wiſh I could alone pay the rec-"koning, and ſuffer for us both."

The

The earl of Kilmarnock was firſt carried out to his execution, during which time lord Balmerino converſed cheerfully with his friends, and twice refreſhed himſelf with a bit of bread and a glaſs of wine, deſiring the company to drink to him aine degrae ta haiven.

When the under ſheriff went to give him notice that his time was come; "I ſuppoſe," ſaid he, "My lord Kilmarnock is no more?" and having aſked how the executioner had performed his duty, his lordſhip, upon receiving the account, ſaid, "Then it was well done; and now, gentlemen, "I will detain you no longer, for I deſire not to "protract my life." His lordſhip then ſaluted the company in a cheerful manner, and haſtened to the ſcaffold, which he mounted with ſo undaunted a ſtep as ſurpriſed every ſpectator, who was not acquainted with his great courage.

He appeared on the ſcaffold with the ſame regimentals he wore at the battle of Culloden, as he ſaid he would; and ſo far was he from having the leaſt concern himſelf at the fear of death, that he frequently reproved his friends that were about him for ſhewing any. His lordſhip walked round the ſcaffold, bowed to the people, read the inſcription on his coffin, ſaid it was right, and with ſeeming pleaſure looked at the block, which he called his Pillow of Reſt. He then pulled out his ſpectacles, and read a paper to the few about him, which he afterwards delivered to Mr. Sheriff Cockayne, and which was ſaid to contain ſome juſtification of his own bad cauſe, and ſome reflections on the preſent happy eſtabliſhment.

My lord then called for the executioner, who being introduced to him, was about to aſk his lordſhip's pardon; but my lord ſtopped him, and ſaid, "Friend, you need not aſk me forgiveneſs,

" the execution of your duty is commendable." His lordſhip, preſenting the executioner with three guineas, ſaid, " Friend, I never had much money, " this is all I have, I wiſh it was more for your " ſake, and am ſorry I can add nothing elſe to it " but my coat and waiſtcoat;" which he inſtantly took off and placed on his coffin.

He then prepared himſelf for the block by putting on a flannel waiſtcoat that had been made up for the occaſion, and a plaid cap upon his head; after which he went to the block, in order to ſhew the executioner the ſignal for the blow, which was the dropping down of his arms.

His lordſhip then returning to his friends, took his laſt farewel of them; and having once more taken a view of the great number of ſpectators, ſaid, " I am afraid there are ſome who may think " my behaviour bold:" and ſpeaking to a gentleman near him, added, " Remember, ſir, what I " tell you, It ariſes from a confidence in God and " a clear conſcience."

My lord then obſerving the executioner with the axe in his hand, took it from him; and having felt the edge, returned it him again, at the ſame time ſhewing him where to ſtrike the blow, and animating him to do it with reſolution; " For in that " friend," ſaid he, " will conſiſt your mercy."

His lordſhip then, with the ſame undaunted countenance, kneeled down at the block, and having his arms extended, ſaid this ſhort prayer,

" O LORD, reward my friends, forgive my " enemies, ********, and receive my ſoul;"

ſubmitted and gave the ſignal to the executioner; but he was ſo terrified at his lordſhip's intrepidity, and the ſuddenneſs of the ſignal, that he was not able

able to take his head off at the firſt blow, though it is to be hoped he deprived him of all ſenſation. After the firſt ſtroke, his lordſhip's head fell back upon his ſhoulders, and being afterwards ſevered at two more gentle blows, was received in a piece of red bays, and with his body depoſited in his coffin, which being put into a hearſe, was carried to the chapel of the Tower, and buried with lord Kilmarnock's, near the remains of the lord Tullibardin, who died a priſoner in the Tower ſome ſhort time before.

THE LIFE AND DEATH OF William, Earl of Kilmarnock.

WILLIAM BOYDE, earl of Kilmarnock and lord Boyde, was deſcended of a very ancient family, and takes his title of earl from a royal borough of that name in the ſhire of Cunningham.

William, the fourth earl of Kilmarnock, the unhappy ſubject of this narration, was ſon of William, the third earl of Kilmarnock, by Euphene his wife, daughter to William lord Roſs. He was but very young when his father died; but diſcovered an early genius not unworthy the dignity of his birth: but his father's death leaving him too ſoon at liberty to be his own maſter, and the indulgence that is generally given to young noblemen, added to the natural ſprightlineſs of his temper, ſoon gave him an averſion to a rigorous ſtudy of letters, though he had made ſome progreſs in claſſical learning, and had acquired ſome tolerable notion of philoſophy and mathematics; but there was too much of the volatile in his diſpoſition, to continue long at exerciſes that required application: he was more happy in acquiring thoſe which are called genteel accompliſhments; ſuch as rideing, fencing, dancing, and ſome muſic; in all which he excelled, and was juſtly eſteemed by men of taſte, a polite gentleman.

When

When he came to the eſtate, it was pretty much incumbered, and great part of the old patrimony alienated. The earl's diſpoſition was by no means turned to improve it by parſimony; on the contrary, as his income was infinitely ſhort of what the generoſity, or rather the profuſeneſs, of his temper would prompt him to ſpend, he ſoon found his affairs daily growing worſe, and therefore thought of bettering his circumſtances by an advantageous match. To this purpoſe he fixed his eyes upon lady Anne Livingſton, daughter of James earl of Linlithgow and Callander, a young lady of conſiderable fortune, a great beauty, and every way accompliſhed to make the greateſt prince happy. The earl made his addreſſes to the lady, but her friends, who knew the low ebb of his fortune, refuſed their conſent: however, his lordſhip's agreeable perſon and genteel addreſs, raiſed a friend for him in the generous lady's boſom, who is naturally an enemy to ſettlements, and other paternal cautions. In ſhort, the young lady married him without her mother's conſent, who was obliged to ſubmit when there was no remedy.

His lordſhip, it is ſaid, proved but ungrateful for the lady's generoſity; and public fame ſtrangely belied him if ſhe had not too much cauſe to complain of his conduct: but as her ladyſhip had both a large ſhare of ſpirit, wit, and good ſenſe, they lived, if not happily, at leaſt civilly together.

The earl's irregularities, added to the charge of a family, at length reduced his circumſtances within ſuch narrow limits, that finding it difficult to ſupport himſelf with any tolerable decency, he applied to the Britiſh court for a penſion, obtained it, and enjoyed it to the time of his entering into the late unnatural rebellion.

While the rebellion was in embryo, we find no footſteps of his lordſhip's being in the plot: on the contrary, before the battle of Preſton-Pans, he beſtirred himſelf in oppoſition to that party which he afterwards embraced. Several authors, who have given us accounts of this lord and his ſuffering, pretend that it was his lady that prevailed upon him to take this ſtep, being, as they ſay, at Edinburgh when the young pretender entered that city, and charmed her with his military appearance and the affability with which he treated her and all the ladies; but this has been contradicted in ſuch a manner, and at ſuch a time, by his lordſhip, that we cannot help giving credit to what he ſaid.

The defeat of general Cope at the battle of Preſton-Pans, elevated the Jacobites to ſuch a degree, that they eſteemed it madneſs and infatuation in every body, who did not immediately join their ſtandard. Among thoſe who did, the earl of Kilmarnock was received by the young chevalier with great marks of eſteem and diſtinction; was declared of his privy council, made colonel of the guards, and promoted to the degree of a general.

How this lord behaved in his new capacities of ſtateſman and general, ſo foreign from his former manner of life, is clearly known but to few; but common report ſays, that he conducted himſelf with courage and reſolution till the day of the battle of Culloden, when, foreſeeing the fate of his party, he abſented himſelf from his corps, and either confounded by his fears, or prompted by deſpair, he almoſt unaccountably fell into the hands of the king's troops, and rather ſurrendered himſelf than was taken priſoner.

The

The earl of Kilmarnock, having been committed priſoner to the Tower of London with the earl of Cromertie and the lord Balmerino, was with them brought to his trial on Monday, the twenty-eighth of July, 1746, and pleaded guilty to his indictment.

On the Wedneſday following, the lords priſoners being brought up again to Weſtminſter, the lord high ſteward being ſeated on the chair before the throne, his grace, addreſſing himſelf to the earl of Kilmarnock, acquainted him that, as his lordſhip had thought proper to plead guilty to the indictment found againſt him, he had thereby confeſſed the ſeveral crimes and treaſons with which he was therein charged; and therefore he now deſired to know if he had any thing to offer, why ſentence of death ſhould not be paſſed upon him.

His lordſhip then addreſſing himſelf to his grace the lord high ſteward and the houſe, made a ſpeech, in which he did not attempt to extenuate his crime, but entreated their lordſhips to intercede with his majeſty for his royal clemency.

On Friday, Auguſt the firſt, his lordſhip being brought down, with the two other rebel lords, to Weſtminſter, with them received ſentence of death; after which he had nothing to do but to prepare for the final execution of it; in which melancholy buſineſs he was aſſiſted by Mr. Foſter, a diſſenting miniſter, but who, by all parties, was allowed to be a gentleman of great learning and piety.

As the public will, in all probability, be curious to know what were lord Kilmarnock's ſentiments concerning death, and the particular kind of death which he expected, in purſuance of his ſentence, would be inflicted on him; Mr. Foſter relates the ſubſtance of the diſcourſes that paſſed between them

upon theſe great, and, to the generality of the world, moſt terifying ſubjects.

On Mondny, the eleventh of Auguſt, general Williamſon deſired Mr. Foſter in the gentleſt terms he could uſe, to let my lord know, that he had received the order for his and lord Balmerino's execution Mr. Foſter at firſt declined the ungrateful office, and told the general, that he was ſo ſhocked at it, that he could not think of delivering the meſſage himſelf, but would endeavour to prepare the unfortunate lord, by diveſting him, as far as he could, of all hope of life, for his informing him of it. And he intended to have gone no farther, but finding my lord in a reſigned and calm temper, Mr. Foſter told him, as general Williamſon was coming up, that he would ſee the vaſt importance, nay, the abſolute neceſſity, of attending ſeriouſly to what he had been ſaying about his diligent and conſtant preparation for death, by what, as he ſaid, he apprehended he would ſoon hear.

Lord Kilmarnock immediately aſked him if the warrant was come down for his execution? The other told him it was, and that the day fixed was the Monday following: and as upon this the general immediately came into the room, Mr. Foſter acquainted him, that lord Kilmarnock knew already what he intended to inform him of.

My lord received this news with the outward behaviour of a man, that knew and felt the importance of the ſcene of death, but without any marks of diſorder, without any unbecoming anxiouſneſs or terror: and to eſtabliſh and ſupport him in his preſent quietude of mind, Mr. Foſter told him, That all mankind were really under ſentence of death, though they knew not the manner, or preciſe time, of its being executed; it might be to

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any one, as ſoon, or ſooner, than his own; that they not expecting it, nor having ſuch timely and certain notice of it, might die wholly unguarded and unprepared; while he had warning, and the moſt awakening motives to fit himſelf, in the beſt manner poſſible, for this grand and deciſive event.

My lord ſaid, he had never been a libertine in principle, during all the time that he was moſt inconſiderate and licentious in his conduct; but had always firmly believed the great truths of God's being and providence, and a future ſtate of rewards and puniſhments for virtue and vice, and that he had not been involved in the faſhionable ſcepticiſm of the times with reſpect to Chriſtianity; that he was therefore naturally concerned, and chiefly concerned, about the conſequences of death, in compariſon of which he thought the thing itſelf a trifle; that, as to the particular manner of his death, he thought he had no reaſon to be terrified, for that the ſtroke appeared to be ſcarce ſo much as the pain of drawing a tooth, or the firſt ſhock of the cold bath upon a weak and fearful temper.

When general Williamſon, upon the Saturday preceding his execution, gave him a minute detail of all the circumſtances of ſolemnity and outward terror that would accompany it; he heard it with as much ſhew of compoſure, as a man of a tender compaſſionate ſpirit would read the account of it, in an inſtance where he was not perſonally concerned. He was told that on Monday about ten in the morning, the ſheriffs would come to demand the priſoners, who would be delivered to them at the gate of the Tower; that from thence, if their lordſhips thought proper, they ſhould walk on foot to the houſe appointed on Tower-hill for their reception,

ception, where the rooms would be hung with black, to make the more decent and ſolemn appearance, and that the ſcaffold alſo would be hung with black cloth; that his lordſhip might repoſe and prepare himſelf in the room fitted up for him, as long as he thought it convenient, remembering only, that the warrant for the execution was limited to, and conſequently expired at, one o'clock; that becauſe of a complaint made by lord Kenmure, that the block was too low, it was ordered to be raiſed to the height of two feet; that it might be the more firmly fixed, props would be placed directly under it, that the certainty or decency of the execution might not be obſtructed by any concuſſion, or ſudden jirk of the body.

All this lord Kilmarnock, without the leaſt viſible emotion, expreſſed his ſatisfaction in: but when the general told him, that two mourning hearſes would be provided, and placed cloſe by the ſcaffold, that when the head was ſtruck off, the coffins might be ſoon taken out to receive the bodies, he ſaid, that he thought it would be better for the coffins to be upon the ſcaffold; for by that means the bodies would be ſtill ſooner removed out of ſight.

Being farther informed, that an executioner was provided who would perform his work dexterouſly, and that he was a very good ſort of man, my lord anſwered, "General, this is one of the worſt cir-"cumſtances that you could have mentioned; I "cannot thoroughly like, for ſuch buſineſs, your "good ſort of men; for one of that character, I "apprehend, muſt be a tender-hearted and com-"paſſionate man; and a rougher and leſs ſenſible "temper might be fitter to be employed."

After this, lord Kilmarnock deſired, that four perſons might be appointed to receive the head, when

when it was ſevered from the body, in a red cloth, that it might not, as he had been informed was the caſe in ſome former executions, roll about the ſcaffold, and be thereby mangled and disfigured: for that though this was, in compariſon, but a ſmall circumſtance, he was not willing that his body ſhould appear with any unneceſſary indecency after the juſt ſentence of the law was ſatisfied.

Mr. Foſter informs us, that when my lord was told, that his head would be held up to the multitude, and public proclamation made, that that was the head of a traitor; he replied, that this he knew to be uſual on all ſuch occaſions, and ſpoke of it as a thing of no ſignificancy in the affair at all, and did not in the leaſt affect him: and Mr. Foſter ſaid, he never heard, either before or after he was delivered into the cuſtody of the ſheriffs, that he intimated the leaſt concern to have this part of the diſmal ceremony diſpenſed with; and therefore it has greatly ſurpriſed ſome people that it ſhould be omitted, and has occaſioned ſome odd conjectures.

Mr. Ford, indeed, in his account of the execution of the two lords, ſays, it was at my lord's particular requeſt, and that the law does not require it: but the firſt gentleman, Mr. Foſter, ſays, that all lord Kilmarnock's friends, who attended him in his laſt moments, are ready to concur with him in making the ſame declaration, that they never expected it would have been ſo, and wondered at it.

To come to the concluſion of this diſmal ſcene, his behaviour on the day of his execution, Mr. Foſter attended him in the morning about eight o'clock, and found him in a moſt calm and happy temper, without any diſturbance or confuſion in his mind, and with apparent marks of eaſe and ſerenity in his aſpect.

At

At my lord's deſire, Mr. Foſter made a ſhort prayer with him; ſoon after which general Williamſon came to inform him, that the ſheriffs waited for the priſoners. At receiving this awful ſummons to go to death, he was not in the leaſt ſtartled, but ſaid calmly and graciouſly, "General, I "am ready, I'll follow you." At the foot of the ſtairs he met and embraced lord Balmerino, as before mentioned in the account of that lord. From thence he walked with the uſual formalties to the Tower-gate, and, after being delivered into the cuſtody of the ſheriffs, went to the houſe provided for the purpoſe, the late Tranſport-office, on Tower-hill, near the ſcaffold.

My lord Kilmarnock ſpent his retirement here in a manner ſuitable to his unhappy circumſtances, Mr. Foſter frequently comforting him with ſeaſonable exhortations. His lordſhip in particular recommended it to the ſheriff's obſervance that he declared himſelf a proteſtant, and thoroughly ſatisfied with the legality of his majeſty, king George's, title to the throne of theſe realms; that he himſelf was educated in theſe principles, and had conſtantly adhered to them, till after the breaking out of the rebellion, which he heartily repented of ever engaging in; and that he prayed for the good of his country, and for the continuance of the crown in his majeſty and his deſcendants till the lateſt poſterity.

The time being now pretty far advanced, as was hinted to his lordſhip by the ſheriff's deſire, Mr. Foſter told him that, after having taken a few minutes to compoſe himſelf, he thought it would be proper to allow him to pray with him, and then proceed to the ſcaffold. After this, Mr. Foſter addreſſed himſelf to the ſpectators of this mournful ſcene, to join with him fervently in this laſt

ſolemn

ſolemn office, and in recommending the ſoul of an unhappy perſon, who gave ſo many marks of his ſincere penitence for the crime of his rebellion, to the mercy of God; with which requeſt they all readily complied.

Lord Kilmarnock had often proteſted, that he would, in his laſt moments; pray for his king and country; therefore Mr. Foſter, towards the concluſion of his prayer for him, offered up ſome petition to that purpoſe; which my lord had before, in the Tower, expreſſed his entire ſatisfaction in.

After prayer was ended, lord Kilmarnock took his laſt farewell of the gentlemen who attended him in a very affectionate manner, and went out of the room, preceded by the ſheriffs and accompanied by his friends. As he was ſtepping into the ſcaffold, notwithſtanding the great pains he had taken to familiarize the outward apparatus of death to his mind, nature ſtill recurred upon him; ſo that being ſtruck with ſuch a variety of dreadful objects at once, the multitude, the block, his coffin, the executioner, the inſtrument of death, he turned about and ſaid to Mr. Home, "Home, "this is terrible."

Mr. Foſter, having talked with his lordſhip a conſiderable time, to ſupport him in his penitence and reſignation, embraced him, and then left him in the ſame calm diſpoſition, quitting the ſcaffold ſome minutes before his execution.

The executioner being introduced to him, aſked his lordſhip forgiveneſs for the painful office aſſigned him; which he very readily granted, and gave him a purſe of gold, deſiring him to have courage, and acquainted him that the ſignal for the ſtroke ſhould be the dropping of a handkerchief.

Spectators

Spectators at a diſtance not knowing the true cauſe of the ſtroke's being retarded, aſcribed it to puſilanimity: but that delay was owing to a few trivial circumſtances which it is neceſſary to mention in his vindication. My lord's hair having been dreſſed in a bag, it took ſome time to undo and put up in his cap. The tucking his ſhirt under the waiſtcoat was the occaſion of ſome farther ſmall delay. But when theſe preliminaries were adjuſted, his lordſhip took out a paper containing the heads of his devotion, went forward to his laſt ſtage and decently kneeled down at the block. Whether it was to ſupport himſelf, or as a more convenient poſture for devotion, he happened to lay his hands with his head upon the block; which the executioner obſerving, prayed his lordſhip to let his hands fall down, leaſt they ſhould be mangled, or break the blow. Then he was told, that the neck of his waiſtcoat was in the way; upon which he roſe and had it taken off.

This done, and the neck made bare to the ſhoulders, he again kneeled down; and what ſufficiently ſhews, that he enjoyed full preſence of mind to the laſt, Mr. Home's ſervant, who held the cloth to receive the head, heard him ſay to the executioner, that in two minutes he would give the ſignal,

This time he ſpent in moſt fervent devotion, as appeared by the motion of his hands and now and then of his head, Having then fixed his neck on the block, he gave the ſignal. His body remained without the leaſt motion, except what was given it by the ſtroke of death, which he received full, and was thereby happily eaſed of all his pain.

The head was received into a piece of ſcarlet cloth, and with the body depoſited in a coffin.

Thus

Thus deſervedly fell, though humble and relenting, the late earl of Kilmarnock, a ſacrifice to the juſtice of his country.

His perſon was tall and graceful; his countenance kind, and his complexion pale. He had abilities, if they had been properly applied, which might have rendered him capable of bringing an increaſe of honour to his family inſtead of ruin and diſgrace.

THE

THE LIFE AND DEATH OF SIMON LORD LOVAT.

SIMON FRASER was the ſecond ſon of Thomas Fraſer, of Beaufort, by a daughter of the laird of M'Leod; and conſequently is deſcended, both by father and mother, from as ancient and as honourable families as any in the kingdom of Scotland.

He was born at Beaufort aforeſaid, near Inverneſs, in the Highlands, in the year 1688. His father and his elder brother both dying while he was very young, the laird of M'Leod took upon him the care of his education, and, after ſome time ſpent at the grammar-ſchool, ſent him to King's college in the univerſity of Aberdeen.

He was very far from diſtinguiſhing himſelf by a very ſtrict a application to his ſtudies: on the contrary, in his junior years, he neglected books much more than he has done ſince, and was only careful to gain ſuch a tincture of letters, as might preſerve him from reproach amongſt people of the ſame rank with himſelf, who in that country are ſeldom found to be deeply learned, and much ſeldomer abſolutely ignorant: but if he was no cloſe ſtudent, he applied himſelf diligently to his exerciſes, and was in thoſe days thought to have the addreſs

addreſs and manners of a gentleman on horſeback and on foot.

About the year 1692, by the intereſt of the family of Athol, he procured a company in the lord Tullibardine's regiment, and he might poſſibly have riſen to conſiderable commands in the army, if his family concerns had not put it out of his power to continue in a military courſe of life. The deceaſe of Hugh lord Lovat, without heirs male, who was his father's eldeſt brother, gave him, as he thought, a legal claim to the title, but moſt unqueſtionably it did a right to be chief of the Fraſers, which, as it was impoſſible a woman could execute, ſo by the law of reaſon, as well as the cuſtom of the clans, ſhe ought not to inherit: but Hugh lord Lovat, above-mentioned, who had married a daughter of the marquis of Athol, made a ſettlement to limit the honours and eſtate of Lovat to his eldeſt daughter, and the heirs of her body.

The miſunderſtanding ariſing between him and the marquis on this occaſion, was the reaſon of captain Fraſer's throwing up his commiſſion. The marquis, in order to ſecure the poſſeſſion of the honours and eſtate to his grandchild, had propoſed to him, that he ſhould convey and make over his right to the ſame to her, and in conſideration thereof, the marqueſs engaged to promote him in the army; but the captain, with a noble indignation, rejected the propoſal, and utterly refuſed to make ſuch a renunciation, proteſting that no conſideration whatever ſhould make him ſell his birthright, by which he was entitled to the eſtate of Lovat, and to be chief of the Fraſers.

It is known to be the cuſtom of Scotland, and more eſpecially in the Highlands, for the next heir-male to marry the heireſs; and this cannot appear ſtrange to thoſe who read the Old Teſtament, ſince

the like cuſtom was eſtabliſhed among the Jews, whoſe political conſtitution was pretty much the ſame with that which anciently and hitherto has prevailed among the clans. There was nothing extravagant or very extraordinary in captain Simon Fraſer's pretending to the heireſs of the deceaſed lord Lovat, and by marrying her to unite both their intereſts and claims.

To accompliſh this, in the year 1694, he applied himſelf ſecretly to gain the young lady's favour, who was then about fifteen years of age, and lived with her mother, the lady dowager Lovat, at Caſtledowny, near Inverneſs. He made his ſentiments known to the heireſs, by the means of one Fraſer of Tenechiel; and gained ſo much upon her affection, that ſhe conſented to marry him privately without the conſent of her friends. In order to this, ſhe left her mother's houſe one morning, with great ſecreſy, attended only by Tenechiel, her and the captain's confident in the intrigue. But before they had gone far, Tenechiel repenting of what he had undertaken, and perhaps dreading the reſentment of the young lady's powerful relations, or thinking to make a merit of ſo important a diſcovery, carried her back again to her mother, and diſcloſed the whole affair.

The diſappointment of the lovers, and the ſorrow and deſpair of captain Fraſer, is more eaſily to be imagined than deſcribed.

This attempt upon the heireſs of Lovat, alarming the family of Athol, they thought it not ſafe for her to remain any longer in that part of the country, and therefore ordered her to be ſent, under a proper eſcort to Dunkeld, the marqueſs's ſeat, which was accordingly done; and the marqueſs, from that time, began to think of marrying her into ſome great family, and thereby blaſt the

hopes

hopes of the captain, and prevent the honours and eſtate ever coming to his poſſeſſion. For this purpoſe a match was propoſed between her and the maſter of Salton, eldeſt ſon of lord Salton, which is a diſtinct family of the Fraſers. Lord Salton embraced this propoſal very chearfully, thinking ſuch an alliance very anvantageous and honourable to his family.

The original deſign of the lord, by whom this affair was contrived and conducted, was to have had the marriage celebrated at the family ſeat of the Fraſers, Caſtledowny, where the lady-dowager Lovat reſided; and thither lord Salton, his ſon, the intended bridegroom, accompanied by lord Mungo Murray, a younger ſon of the marqueſs of Athol, were going, when captain Simon Fraſer ſtopped them in their journey, and brought them priſoners to that very place into which they were to have entered in triumph. When he had them there, he expoſtulated the matter with lord Salton, and ſhewed him ſo plainly the nature of his own title to be chief of the Lovat tribe of Fraſers, that he readily relinquiſhed the match. If the young lady had been there, this ſtroke would have been deciſive; but as ſhe was not, and the lady-dowager Lovat was a very agreeable woman, and exceedingly beloved by the clan, captain Fraſer made his addreſſes to her, in which he prevailed; and though he had a guard about the houſe, and ſome other circumſtances gave this marriage an air of force; yet, ſuch was the affection of that lady to him, that when, by the power of her family he was driven out of the Fraſers country, and forced to fly for his life, ſhe was not only the companion of his dangers and misfortunes, but, in the midſt of thoſe difficulties, inſiſted upon a ſecond ſolemnization of the marriage, which at her deſire was

complied with: but the kindneſs of the lady was not greater than the hatred of her family. They purſued captain Fraſer with implacable ſteadineſs, exerted againſt him the weight of their power, which drove him to rocks and caves for ſhelter, and employed at the ſame time the weight of their influence by which they procured a ſentence of the court of juſticiary againſt him for a rape. They purſued him likewiſe as guilty of high treaſon in levying war; and to ſupport theſe dreadful ſentences in both caſes, they procured an order for a party of dragoons, commanded by lieutenant Robert Campbell, to put the law in execution with reſpect to his houſe and eſtate at Beaufort, which that gentleman, with great reluctancy, did.

Thus captain Fraſer became an enemy to the government in conſtruction of law, which drove him from his country, friends and wife; but, on a repreſentation to king William, of glorious memory, a remiſſion was granted to him as to the treaſon, but the judgment as to the rape remained in full force; ſo that he had a pardon for the greater crime, with non obſtante to be hanged for the leſs offence: which he avoided by keeping out of the reach of his enemies as well as he could; and when it was found impracticable for him to remain either in Scotland or England, he was compelled to fly to the only place where he was ſure of protection; and this carried him to the court of St. Germain's; ſo that by the Jacobite intereſt in Scotland, he was driven to act the part of a Jacobite himſelf; and this, we are told by his friends, was the true and plain ſtate of his firſt application to the exiled family, by whom he was immediately received in the character and quality of lord Lovat, and chief of the Fraſers.

The

The firſt thing he did, was to open the eyes of the French miniſters with reſpect to the poſture of affairs in Scotland, which was a very difficult thing to do, ſince they were at that time ſo perplexed that neither the French nor Engliſh court knew what to make of them. He ſhewed them clearly that, with regard to the family at St. Germain's, the clans only were to be depended upon, for that the other parties in Scotland ſought merely their own intereſt, and were for any court in which they could be uppermoſt.

It was in conſequence of the lights he gave them, that the French miniſters came to change their notions with reſpect to perſons and things; and whatever ſentiments they might entertain of the ſincerity of his attachment to the family in France, they were convinced that he did not deceive them in the accounts he gave; and therefore, notwithſtanding all that was ſaid by the earl of Middleton and his creatures, they continued to employ him; and he had likewiſe a ſhare in the favour of queen Mary, who having been herſelf in Scotland, when ducheſs of York, had truer notions of things than ſome of her Scotch miniſters could have wiſhed ſhe had, becauſe it led to diſapprove ſeveral of thoſe ſchemes in which they were moſt ſanguine.

Captain Fraſer was honoured with a commiſſion, ſome ſay that of a colonel of foot,, others a major-general's, and furniſhed with powers and credentials to treat with the noblemen and gentlemen in Scotland, who were attached to that intereſt, and particularly the chiefs of the clans. He was likewiſe provided with ſome arms and ammunition, and with a ſum of money from the court of France.

Mr. Lockhart, of Carnwarth, in his Memoirs, treats this matter as a ſham plot, trumped up by the duke of Queensbury and his party, and charged upon the marqueſs of Athol and the Tory party, in order to furniſh a pretence to ruin and oppreſs them.

Simon Fraſer knew exactly the ſituation of things; and the characters and meaſures of all the great men in both kingdoms; and this enabled him to play them one againſt another, and to avail himſelf of them all. He had propoſed to the court of France to depend upon the Highlanders, and the Highlanders only. He knew very well the confidence the court of St. Germain's had in the dukes of Hamilton and Athol, and other great men in Scotland, and knew that ſome of the queen's miniſters correſponded with the court of St. Germain's; and made both Perth and Middleton believe, that they would prepare every thing, in caſe of the queen's death, for a change to their liking; and he alſo knew that they intended no ſuch thing, but practiſed this artifice with a view to prevent their contriving plots and conſpiracies during the war.

Upon his coming down to Scotland, he offered the earl of Leven and the duke of Argyle, to do ſervice to the government; and by this means he procured admittance to, and a paſs from, the duke of Queensbury. But before he did this, he had tried, by the interpoſition of the Murrays, to reconcile himſelf to the Athol family; but found it impoſſible, and that they were bent to deſtroy him if they could.

He therefore thought himſelf at full liberty to talk of their intrigues and correſpondences to the duke of Queensbury; but this could not be called

called betraying them, becauſe they never truſted him. They acted upon a different plan, and whether they really intended to ſerve either one court or the other, was a ſecret then, and will ſo remain to the end of time. But it was no ſecret to him, that they hated the duke of Queenſbury, and the duke of Queensbury them; and therefore he knew, that offering to find out their correſpondences would recommend him to his grace. But he never communicated to the duke one word of his ſecret commiſſion, or of his meſſage to the clans, ſo that he did not betray thoſe that truſted him, nor the ſcheme with which he was truſted.

Upon the return of captain Fraſer to France, and the court of St. Germain's, where, by the way, he was always called and conſidered as lord Lovat. He found his intereſt much ſunk; the clamour from England and Scotland had got over thither before him; and, notwithſtanding all he could ſay, and all that he had done, there was no ſuch thing as making people there believe that he had not betrayed the royaliſts, as they called them in Scotland: but this would not have given him much pain, if the French miniſters had not conceived amiſs of him; but they finding that the very paper he had given them, concerning the ſtrength of the clans, with the remarks of the earl of Cromertie upon it, had been produced to the Engliſh parliament, concluded that he muſt have betrayed them, though the fact really was, that he gave this paper originally to ſir John M'Lean, in order to engage him to introduce him to queen Mary; and ſir John being very unluckily taken into cuſtody, upon his going over to take the benefit of the indemnity, and being examined as to his knowledge of captain Fraſer, owned every thing and delivered up this paper.

Lord Lovat was however ſoon delivered from the perſecution he had been under from the time of his return into France. The miniſtry of Verſailles were convinced, they had injured him, and that they never had received any juſt or certain accounts of that country but from him; and therefore, though they might be civil to ſome of the Scotch correſpondents of the court of St. Germain's afterwards, yet they never depended upon them: and the duke of Berwick plainly declared, that there was no relying upon, or truſting to the profeſſions, of thoſe great men who were lord Lovat's capital enemies; ſo that his credit roſe in proportion as theirs declined; but, except being freed from the unjuſt ſuſpicions of the French court, lord Lovat reaped little benefit from this change; for the miniſtry, having now no farther views upon Scotland, took very little care of any of that nation; ſo that he was driven to very hard ſhifts for a ſubſiſtence, notwithſtanding he had acceſs to the greateſt men in that kingdom, and was, to outward appearance, very well received by them; and of this he had ſenſe enough to make a right uſe, without flattering himſelf with imaginary hopes, or entertaining falſe expectations, as was the caſe with the reſt of his countrymen, who ſtill pleaſed themſelves with notions, that the Grand Monarque would never deſert them; whereas he and his miniſters looked upon the deſertion to lie on their ſide, and had entered into a new ſyſtem with reſpect to the intereſt of the exiled family, which, though it wore a fairer appearance, proved as deluſive as the former, and ended at laſt in eſtabliſhing an opinion in the French court, that all projects in favour of that family were idle and chimerical, farther than as they ſerved to amuſe the miniſtry in England, and to keep alive the factions and

parties

parties in Great-Britain, in maintaining of which the French ſtill hoped to find their account.

Lord Lovat was afterwards reſtored to favour, and pardoned for his loyalty and ſervices in the rebellion in 15; after which he made his firſt public appearance at Edinburgh in the year 1717. About the ſame year his lordſhip intermarried with a daughter of the laird of Grant, ſiſter to the preſent ſir James Grant, bart. intending to add to his power and intereſt by an alliance with ſo potent and numerous a clan. Of this marriage are iſſue two ſons and two daughters.

Upon the deceaſe of this lady, his lordſhip married a young lady nearly related to the noble family of Argyle, by whom he had a ſon named Archibald: but his cruel and unworthy uſage of that lady, which has for ever occaſioned a ſeparation between them, inſtead of uniting himſelf more firmly to that great family, as he intended, has juſtly drawn upon him their reſentment and contempt.

About the year 1737, lord Lovat became greatly ſuſpected of ſome treaſonable deſigns: and an information was given to one of the ſecretaries of ſtates, that his lordſhip, under pretence of providing arms for his independent company, had bought up a conſiderable number of fire-arms, broad-ſwords and targets.

This was repreſented to a certain great man at court, who thereupon wrote to lord Lovat upon that head, deſiring from him an account of the truth of theſe matters, and that he would ſatisfy the government with reſpect to the charge: and the more effectually to quiet the apprehenſion that ſome people had entertained of his conduct, and as it was generally reported that his lordſhip propoſed

to

ſend his ſons to France for their education, he adviſed his lordſhip to ſend them up to London; and to encourage him thereto, this great man offered to have a particular regard in their education, and undertook to be at the expence thereof out of his own pocket: ſuch was this nobleman's generous care and concern to preſerve this family from deſtruction: but our lord was deaf to his counſels and friendly admonition, and contented himſelf with ſending him long letters in his own vindication, ſtuffed with ſhuffling evaſions and flattering ſpeeches, and boaſting of the great ſervices he had done in the year 1715, which he pretended ought to free him from any falſe imputation of diſloyalty.

Lord Lovat was certainly under great obligations to the government for the fortunate turn in his affairs after the year 1715. His late majeſty frequently heaped favours upon him; made him lord-lieutenant of the county and governor of Inverneſs, gave him a penſion, and the command of a Highland independent company, there being ſeveral of thoſe companies raiſed after the rebellion to preſerve the peace in the Highlands.

The king knew my lord's character, and that he appeared in arms againſt the rebels purely to ſerve himſelf: and therefore his majeſty reſolved, if poſſible, by loading him with favours, to let him ſee, that his chief intereſt lay in ſerving the government faithfullly. This was good policy, and had a late miniſtry thought proper ſo far to comply with this dangerous man, as even to continue him in the enjoyment of thoſe gratifications which the late king thought proper to beſtow upon him, the rebellion, in all probability, would never have been carried to ſuch a height as it was; for he, with his own

own clan, could have crushed it in its infancy. But in the year 1738, his lordship having voted contrary to the directions of the ministry, although the candidate he voted for was in the court interest, they took away his pension, stript him of his command, and deprived him of every mark of the government's favour.

It was not long before his lordship shewed his disgust after the court favour was withdrawn from him; and, his conversation plainly discovered, that he only wanted an opportunity to break out into rebellion. Not long after the battle of Preston-Pans, the Frasers, to the number of five hundred, were assembled, and armed, and sent to join the rebels at Perth.

A report was current about this time, and generally believed, that his lordship made an offer to a certain great man at court, that if twenty-five thousand pounds was put into his hands, to be distributed among the chiefs of the clans, he would engage that that part of the country should be kept quiet, and the Highlanders obliged to assist the king's forces.

His proposal, however, was rejected with disdain, and his designs suspected; and so he was reduced to a sort of necessity of engaging in support of the pretender, whose cause, about forty years before, he had notoriously betrayed, and strenuously opposed in the year 1715; and therefore could not now expect any great confidence from that party.

The lord-president, who, since the breaking out of the insurrection in Scotland, was exceeding active and vigilant in the service of the government, out of a sincere concern for the lord Lovat, wrote him a letter, expressing his unfeigned friendship for his lordship;

lordſhip; but at the ſame time intimated, that he was not unacquainted with his ſecret and diſloyal practices, entreating him to relinquiſh an enterprize, the certain and unavoidable conſequence of which would be ruin and deſtruction to himſelf and family.

It was in vain to think of reclaiming his lordſhip, for he ſtill continued more daring and open in his proceedings; which determined the earl of Loudon, who was then at Inverneſs, to put a ſtop thereto. He marched with ſome hundreds of his men to Caſtledowny, and ſent lord Lovat a meſſage, in the king's name, to attend him to Inverneſs, and deliver up what arms he had in poſſeſſion. My lord not finding himſelf in a condition to reſiſt, ſubmitted to go along with lord Loudon, and remain at Inverneſs as a ſecurity for his peaceable behaviour; and accordingly ſtaid there for ſome days; but, upon ſome ſham pretence or other, delayed to perform his promiſe, as to delivering up the arms; and notwithſtanding he was ſtrictly watched, and centinels placed at his lodgings, yet he found means to break through the back part of the houſe in the night-time, and made his eſcape. After which, it was ſaid, he was very inſtrumental in fomenting and carrying on the rebellion, by raiſing and arming the Highlanders, and alarming them with fears of being extirpated and deſtroyed by the king's troops with fire and ſword, and perſuading them there were no other means left for their preſervation, but by having recourſe to arms to defend their lives, properties, and families, from the rapine and violence of their enemies.

In order to enforce this matter, it is reported, that he publiſhed a declaration, or manifeſto, which he cauſed to be publicly read in the kirks on a Sunday,

day. His ſon was at the head of the Fraſers, at the famous battle of Culloden-houſe, where they behaved with their uſual courage and reſolution.

The pretender's ſon, after his defeat, the ſame night fled to Lovat's houſe, and finding his lordſhip at home in his bedchamber, he burſt into tears, and ſaid, "My good lord, we are undone; "my heart bleeds for poor Scotland;" and without adding more, he fell down upon the bed in a ſwoon.

The next day his lordſhip and his gueſt retired to a mountainous and woody country called Glenſtrafarrar, where his lordſhip remained for ſome time upon the ſummit of the Capillach, being an extraordinary high mountain, from which there is a proſpect of all the country round for many miles, great part of which belonged to his lordſhip's eſtate. Here he, with three hundred of his Fraſers that eſcaped from the battle, obſerved the motions of the king's troops, and perceived a body of about eight hundred march to his ſeat at Caſtledowny, which he had the mortification to ſee demoliſhed and burnt down to the ground. He thereupon addreſſed his ſorrowful clan with theſe words: "Now, gentlemen, you ſee my predictions, that "our enemies would deſtroy us with fire and "ſword, prove true, they have begun with me, "and will not make an end before they have laid "waſte, ravaged and burnt our unhappy country."

His Fraſers hereupon, fired with rage and indignation, vowed that they would ruſh down and attack the vilains who had acted ſuch a piece of cruelty and indignity againſt their chief; and reſolved that in revenging the ſame they would die glorioufly, aſſerting the cauſe of liberty and their much injured lord; but he with tears and intreaties reſtrained

ſtrained their furious and deſperate purpoſe, and conjured them to preſerve their lives, and wait for a more ſeaſonable opportunity of retaliating their unſpeakable affronts and wrongs, and the outragious and lawleſs violence that was then done him by burning and demoliſhing his houſe.

About the fifth or ſixth of June, his lordſhip was taken and carried, by ſome of his majeſty's troops, to Fort William. From whence he wrote the fellowing letter to his royal highneſs the duke, at his camp at Fort Auguſtus:

"SIR,

"THIS letter is moſt humbly addreſſed to your royal highneſs by the very unfortunate Simon lord Fraſer of Lovat. I durſt not preſume to ſolicit, or petition, your royal highneſs for any favour, if it was not very well known to the beſt people in this country attached to the government, ſuch as the lord-preſident, and by thoſe that frequented the court at that time, that I did more eſſential ſervice to your royal family in ſuppreſſing the great rebellion in the year 1715, with the hazard of my life, and the loſs of my only brother, than any of my rank in Scotland; for which I had three letters of thanks from my royal maſter, by the earl of Stanhope, then ſecretary of ſtate; in which his majeſty ſtrongly promiſed to give me ſuch marks of his favour as ſhould oblige all the country to be faithful to him: therefore the gracious king was as good as his word to me; for as ſoon as he arrived at court, and was introduced to the king by the late duke of Argyle, I became, by degrees to be as great a favourite as any Scotſman about the court; and I often carried your royal highneſs

highneſs in my arms in the parks of Kenſington and Hampton-court, to hold you up to your royal grandfather, that he might embrace you, for he was very fond of you and the young princeſſes.

"Now, ſir, all that I have to ſay in my preſent circumſtances, is, that your royal highneſs will be pleaſed to extend your goodneſs towards me, in a generous and compaſſionate manner, in my preſent deplorable ſituation; and, if I have the honour to kiſs your royal highneſs's hand, I would eaſily demonſtrate to you, that I can do more ſervice to the king and government, than the deſtroying an hundred ſuch old and very infirm men like me, paſſed ſeventy, without the leaſt uſe of my hands, legs, or knees, can be of advantage, in any ſhape, to the government.

"Your royal father, our preſent ſovereign, was very kind to me in the year 1715. I preſented on my knees to his majeſty a petition in favour of the laird of Mac-Intoſh, to obtain a protection for him; which he granted me, and gave it to Charles Cathcart, then groom of his bedchamber, and ordered him to deliver it into my hands, that I might give it to the laird of Mac-Intoſh. This was but one teſtimony of ſeveral marks of goodneſs his majeſty was pleaſed to beſtow on me while the king was at Hanover; ſo I hope I ſhall feel, that the ſame compaſſionate blood runs in your royal highneſs's veins.

"Major-general Cambel told me, that he had the honour to acquaint your royal highneſs, that he was ſending me to Fort-William, and that he begged of your royal highneſs to order a litter to be made for me to carry me to Fort-Auguſtus, as I am in ſuch a condition that I am not able to ſtand, walk, nor ride.

"I am,

"I am, with the utmoſt ſubmiſſion, and moſt profound reſpect,

"SIR,

"Your Royal Highneſs's

"Moſt obedient, and

"Moſt faithful ſervant,

"LOVAT."

On Sunday the fifteenth of June, his lordſhip was brought priſoner to Fort Auguſtus, in his horſe-litter, with about fifty rebels more. He had been taken by captain Ferguſon of the Furnace bomb, in a boat attempting to get on board a ſhip. Others ſay, the ſaid captain took him in a trunk of a tree, where he had the mortification to live twelve days on oatmeal and water, although he had five or ſix hundred guineas in his pockets. Another mortification it muſt have been to the old man, that when he was brought to the camp at Fort-Auguſtus, the ſutlers, and all the followers of the army, received him with hiſſes.

On the fifteenth of July, his lordſhip was conveyed to Stirling under a ſtrong guard, where he was received by a detachment of lord Mark Ker's dragoons, under the command of major Gardiner. From Stirling, after a few days reſt, he proceeded to Edinburgh, on his way to London. From thence he went on to Berwick, and on the twenty-fifth proceeded on his journey, being eſcorted by major Gardiner and ſixty dragoons. His journey from thence to London was divided into twenty ſtages, and he was to travel one ſtage a day.

When he came to the Tower, he was received by general Williamſon, lieutenant-governor of the place, who conducted him to the apartment appointed for his reception; but being very feeble,

both

both in his hands and legs, ſome of the wardens were forced to aſſiſt him from the coach to his room, where being ſeated in an elbow chair, and having taken ſomewhat to refreſh him, he could not forbear uttering ſome reflections on the hardſhip of his fate.

He was ſoon after condemned and executed, and his behaviour was equally reſolute and decent.

We ſhall not give a particular account of the circumſtances attending his execution, as that would require a repetition of ſeveral particulars which we have had occaſion to mention already.

THE

LIFE AND DEATH

OF

Charles Ratcliffe, Eſq.

THIS unfortunate gentleman was the youngeſt brother of James earl of Derwentwater, who was executed in 1716.

They were ſons of ſir Francis Ratcliffe, by lady Mary Tudor, natural daughter to king Charles II. by Mrs. Mary Davis. He was with his brother taken at Preſton, tried, convicted and condemned; but ſeveral times reſpited, and probably would have been pardoned, had he not, with thirteen others, made his eſcape out of a room called the Caſtle, in Newgate, through a little door which had been left open by accident. This door led to the maſter-ſide debtors, where the turnkey, not knowing Ratcliffe and his companions, let them out of the priſon, ſuppoſing they were perſons who had come in to ſee their friends.

He immediately went over to France, and from thence followed the pretender to Rome, ſubſiſting on ſuch a petty penſion as his maſter could allow him; but returning ſome time after to Paris, he married the relict of Livingſton, lord Newbourgh, by whom he had a ſon.

In 1733, he came to England, and reſided ſome time at Mr. John's, in Pallmall, without any moleſtation, though it was known to the miniſtry.

He


RATCLIFFE
J. Basire Sculp.

He returned to France, and came back again to England in 1735, and ſollicited his pardon, but without ſucceſs, though he appeared publicly and viſited ſeveral families in Eſſex. Returning again to France, he accepted of the French king's commiſſion, to act as an officer in the late rebellion; and embarking with his ſon, and ſeveral other Scotch and Iriſh officers on board the Eſperance privateer, for Scotland, was taken by his majeſty's ſhip the Sheerneſs; and when he landed at Deal, was very arrogant to the king's officers, till they told him, they intended to uſe him like a gentleman; but he was going to put it out of their power.

On Friday the twenty-firſt of November, he was brought under a ſtrong guard, in a coach, from the Tower to the court of King's-bench in Weſtminſter-hall, to be arraigned on his ſentence in the year 1716, when he eſcaped out of Newgate. He pleaded that he was a ſubject to the king of France, in which country he had reſided about thirty years, and had his commiſſion; and that he was not Charles Ratcliffe; meaning, that he was earl of Derwentwater. Then a jury was ordered to be impannelled, by which he was proved to be the identical perſon.

On Saturday, the twenty-ſecond of November, Mr. Ratcliffe being brought up to the bar of the court of King's-bench, was again arraigned, but refuſed to hold up his hand, or acknowledge any juriſdiction but that of the king of France, inſiſting on a commiſſion he had in his pocket from the French king; but on hearing his former indictment and conviction read to him in Engliſh, he ſaid he was not the Charles Ratcliffe therein mentioned, but the earl of Derwentwater; and his council informed the court, that this was the plea he relied

on: to which the attorney-general replied, with an averment of his being the ſame Charles Ratcliffe, and thereupon iſſue was joined.

Then the council for the priſoner moved to have his trial put off upon his affidavit that two of his material witneſſes were out of the way. This the court refuſed to grant, except the priſoner made affidavit, that he was not the identical Charles Ratcliffe; which he declining to do, the jury were called, and, after two or three of the pannel had been ſworn, Mr. Ratcliffe challenged the next that was called, as of right, without aſſigning any reaſon; but, upon debate of the queſtion, How far he had right to challenge, the court ſaid, it had been determined before, in all the later caſes, that the priſoner, in ſuch a caſe as this, had no peremptory challenge: upon which the reſt of the jury were ſworn, and after a clear evidence of the identity of the perſon, on the part of the crown, the jury withdrew about ten minutes and then found their verdict, That he was the ſame Charles Ratcliffe, who was convicted of treaſon in 1715.

Then the attorney-general moved to have execution awarded againſt him on his former judgment; to which the priſoner's council objected, tendering a plea of pardon by act of parliament in bar of execution. But the court ſaid, as he had already pleaded ſuch a plea as he choſe to rely on, and as that was found againſt him, nothing more remained for them to do at preſent, but to award execution; and if his council had any thing to offer in his behalf, they would have time to do it before the day of execution; and ordered a rule to be made for the proper writs for his execution on the eighth of the next month, and remanded the priſoner back to the Tower.

His

His deſign in ſtiling himſelf earl of Derwentwater, was, that he might paſs for Francis, his younger brother, who went to France before 1715, and there died. He would not call the lord-chief-juſtice lord, becauſe the title of earl was not given him. He refuſed to hold up his hand at the bar; and being told, that his own council would ratify him that it was only a form of the court, he ſaid, "I know many things that I will not adviſe "with my council upon." On hearing the rule for his execution, he deſired time, becauſe he and lord Moreton, in the baſtile at Paris, ſhould take the ſame journey at the ſame time.

On Monday, the eighth of December, 1746, he was beheaded on Tower-hill. At about eleven o'clock, the ſheriffs, Mr. alderman Winterbottom and Mr. alderman Alſop, with their officers, came to ſee if the ſcaffold was finiſhed, and if every thing was prepared for Mr. Ratcliffe's reception; which being to their ſatisfaction, they went to the Tower, and demanded the body of Mr. Ratcliffe, of general Williamſon, deputy-governor. Upon being ſurrendered, he was firſt put in a landau and carried over the wharf, at the end of which he was put into a mourning coach, and conveyed into a ſmall booth, joining to the ſtairs of the ſcaffold, lined with black, where he ſpent about half an hour in devotion, and then, preceded by the ſheriffs, the divines, and ſome gentlemen his friends, went up the ſcaffold, where he took leave of his friends with great calmneſs and ſerenity of mind; and having ſpoken a few words to the executioner, gave him a purſe of ten guineas, and put on a damaſk cap. Then he kneeled down to prayers, which laſted about ſeven minutes, all the ſpectators upon the ſcaffold kneeling with him.

Prayers

Prayers being over, he pulled off his clothes, and put his head to the block; from whence he ſoon got up, and having ſpoke a few words he kneeled down to it, and fixing his head, in about two minutes gave the ſignal to the executioner, who at three blows ſtruck it off, and it was received in a ſcarlet cloth.

He behaved with the greateſt fortitude and coolneſs of temper, and was no way ſhocked at the approach of death. His body was immediately put into a coffin, and carried back in a hearſe to the Tower; and the ſcaffold, booth, and all the boards belongihg to them, were cleared away in the afternoon.

His corpſe was on the eleventh carried in a hearſe attended by two mourning coaches, to St. Giles's in the Fields, and there interred with the remains of the late earl of Derwentwater, according to his deſire, with this inſcription on his coffin:

Carolus Ratcliffe, comes de Derwentwater,
Decolatus die 8 Decembris, 1746.
Ætatis 53.
Requieſcat in pace.

His ſon was abſolutely deprived of any title or intereſt in the fortune of the Derwentwater family, by an act of parliament which ſays, That the iſſue of any perſon attainted of high-treaſon, born and bred in any foreign dominion, and a Roman catholic, ſhall forfeit his reverſion of ſuch eſtate, and the remainder ſhall for ever be fixed in the crown.

The fortune of the Derwentwater family is ſaid to have amounted to above two hundred thouſand pounds.

THE

THE

LIFE AND DEATH OF Lawrence Shirley, Earl Ferrers.

THE unhappy earl, who is the ſubject of this article, was ſon to Robert, earl of Ferrers. His lordſhip, in the early part of his life, gave hopes of his being an ornament to this noble family; but when he was on his travels, he contracted a habit of drinking, and ran into other faſhionable vices, which much altered his diſpoſition of mind, as well as habit of body.

His lordſhip's fondneſs for company, and love of drinking, obliged him to ſpend his time among thoſe who, being his inferiors both in rank and fortune, could not preſume to uſe thoſe admonitions that were neeeſſary to keep him within the bounds of reaſon.

But drunkenneſs was not his lordſhip's only vice, he even made it ſubſervient to others: for when ſober he was continually laying ſchemes to mortify others, and to be revenged on thoſe who had affronted him.

His lady, the youngeſt daughter of ſir William Meredith, though ſhe uſed all the arts of ſoft perſuaſion, had not the power to humanize a mind too rough and boiſterous to be moved by gentleneſs and kind endearments. The whole courſe of

his lordſhip's life ſeemed to prepare the way for that fatal cataſtrophe which at laſt brought him to an ignominious death.

It is remarkable, that there were particular marks of premeditation in the murder of Mr. Johnſon, whom he ſent for five mornings ſucceſſively before he could get a favourable opportunity of taking his life. On the fatal morning, he ſent all his ſervants out of the way except one maid. When Mr. Johnſon entered the room, he turned the key upon him, and on his preſenting his papers, ordered him to fall upon his knees.

Upon Mr. Johnſon's expoſtulating, the earl inſiſted upon his falling on his knees, and imploring the mercy of the Almighty, as he was never more to riſe again on this ſide the grave. Mr. Johnſon having obeyed, his lordſhip diſcharged the piſtol full at his body, and he inſtantly fell. The earl then raiſed him up, and aſked him how he felt himſelf; to which he replied, "Like a man who "has but a few moments to live." The earl then placed him in a chair and rang the bell. The only ſervant in the houſe then entering, he ſent her for Mr. Kirkland, a ſurgeon. Mr. Kirkland being come, examined the wound, which he found to be mortal; but not caring to acquaint his lordſhip with the truth, leſt he himſelf ſhould ſuffer the ſame fate, he, with great preſence of mind, aſſured him that the man would he well in four and twenty hours.

Mr. Kirkland was no ſooner out of his lordſhip's reach, but he applied to a neighbouring juſtice, who ſent to ſecure his lordſhip and confine him in his own houſe, whence he endeavoured to make his eſcape, but was prevented. In nine hours Mr. Johnſon died, and his lordſhip was committed to the county jail of Leiceſter.

Soon

Soon after his lordſhip ſet out from Leiceſter jail in his own Landau and ſix, under a ſtrong guard, On Wedneſday, the fourteenth of April, 1760, he arrived at Weſtminſter, and was immediately ordered to the Tower, where he arrived at ſix in the evening. The earl's miſtreſs and children then took a lodging in Tower-ſtreet, and for ſome time a ſervant was continually ſent with letters between them: but afterwards this correſpondence was permitted only once a day, and the ſervant diſcharged.

On Wedneſday, the ſixteenth of April, the trial of earl Ferrers came on, the right honourable the lord Henley of the Grange being conſtituted lord high ſteward upon that occaſion. The trial laſted two days, but his lordſhip was not obliged to ſtand at the bar the whole time; he was allowed to retire occaſionally to a room allotted on purpoſe; but whenever he returned to the bar, he was obliged to kneel in compliment to the throne, his majeſty be ſuppoſed to be preſent in the perſon of the lord high ſteward.

However, notwithſtanding all that could be urged by his lordſhip's council in his defence, he was pronounced by his peers guilty of wilful murder.

The day after trial, the lord high ſteward made a moſt affecting ſpeech to the priſoner; and then ſolemnly pronounced ſentence, That he ſhould be hanged by the neck till he was dead, and afterwards delivered to the ſurgeons to be diſſected. He then broke his ſtaff, and diſmiſſed the aſſembly.

During the time his lordſhip was in the Tower, he eat and drank moderately. His breakfaſt was only a half pint baſon of tea, with a ſpoonful of brandy in it, and a muffin. With his dinner, he generally drank a pint of wine and a pint of porter; and

and another pint of each with his ſupper. He was for the moſt part calm, but would ſometimes ſtart, and haſtily unbrace his waiſtcoat, and otherwiſe behave ſo as to ſhew his mind was diſturbed.

His miſtreſs came three times to the Tower to ſee him, but was not admitted: her children, however, came dreſſed in mourning, and were with him ſome time. He had made a will, in which he left thirteen hundred pounds to Mr. Johnſon's children, one thouſand pounds to each of his four natural children, and ſixty pounds a year to his miſtreſs: but as this will was not made till after he was found guilty of the murder by the coroners inqueſt, it was of no validity; notwithſtanding which the ſame, or nearly the ſame, proviſion was made for the perſons abovementioned.

A few days before the time appointed for his execution, his lordſhip ſent for his wardrobe and choſe out of it a white ſuit embroidered with ſilver, ſaying, "This is the ſuit in which I was married, "and in which I will die." He uſually ſat up till one or two o'clock, and did not riſe till twelve. The night before his execution, he ſat up till three o'clock, and when he waked in the morning was ſick, but ſoon recovered.

At the place of execution, his lordſhip, who appears to have been of deiſtical principles, declined ſaying any prayer but the Lord's Prayer; and after having repeated it, he cried, with great energy, "O God forgive me all my errors; par-"don all my ſins."

The executioner ſoon after proceeded to do his duty, his lordſhip ſubmitting with great reſignation. Having mounted a part of the ſcaffold raiſed eighteen inches higher than the reſt and the ſignal being given by the ſheriff, that part of the floor ſunk under him to a level with the reſt, and he

he remained ſuſpended in the air. He ſtruggled for a few moments, but was ſoon diſpatched by the preſſure of the executioner; and having hung an hour and five minutes, he was cut down; the ſhell being raiſed, it was dropped into it and carried by ſix men to the hearſe; after which it was conveyed by the ſheriffs in the ſame proceſſion to Surgeons Hall, to undergo the remainder of the ſentence. The ſurgeons made a large inciſion from the neck to the bottom of the thorax or breaſt, and another acroſs the throat: the abdomen was laid open, and the bowels taken out.

Thus did this nobleman ſuffer like a common fellon; and it ſeems probable that this unhappy end was owing to the early prejudices againſt the Chriſtian religion, which he had contracted in his travels, and which he appears to have retained to the laſt.

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